

Anglia Ruskin University

Faculty of Health, Social Care and Education

**‘Moral wrecks’ – a comparative historical study of the
regulation of women’s drinking in Britain**

Rachel Ryder

**A thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Anglia
Ruskin University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

Submitted: January 2017



‘A sad sight’, *The Band of Hope Review*, September 1851.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my supervisory team, Dr Sarah Burch and Professor Rohan McWilliam for their guidance, advice and thought provoking supervisions throughout this process. I would also like to acknowledge the guidance of Dr Deborah Holman in the early stages of the research. I received invaluable support from my colleagues in the Social Policy department at Anglia Ruskin University. Particular thanks go to Dr Jane Ellis, for her contribution to this thesis as critical reader.

I also wish to thank the colleagues I met through the Drinking Studies Network (formally the Warwick Drinking Studies Network), and the British Sociological Association Alcohol Study Group for hosting engaging interdisciplinary conferences. Particular thanks go to Dr Patsy Staddon and Dr Henry Yeomans.

Thanks to my family and friends, particularly the #Wednesdaynightwine group for urging me on, celebrating all the milestones and commiserating with gin when necessary. Most of all, I thank Phil, for giving me time, a space to work, and impersonations of Manuel as encouragement.

Anglia Ruskin University

Abstract

Faculty of Health, Social Care and Education

Doctor of Philosophy

‘Moral wrecks’ – a comparative historical study of the regulation of women’s drinking in Britain

Rachel Ryder

January 2017

This is a study of the techniques of moral regulation projects which target the drinking practices of women. It takes a historical comparative approach, because women’s drinking has been identified as a perennial concern, yet the existing body of evidence points to far fewer women than men experiencing alcohol related harms. The imperative to regulate women’s drinking practices comes from government and extra-state organisations, and their attempt to shape women’s drinking practices through discourses is the focus of this study.

The research focused on source materials produced by alcohol regulation campaign groups from two time periods, 1830 – 1872, and 2004 – 2014. The materials, Temperance tracts, and contemporary posters, were identified on the basis that they were widely available to drinking women in their respective time periods. The materials were analysed using a narrative analysis method, exploring both the textual and visual content of each source. The data analysis was informed by moral regulation theory, theories of governance and post-feminist theory.

The key findings of the study are that women’s drinking is primarily constructed as a social problem of disorder. The use of two distinctive tropes, the ‘controlled woman’ and the ‘uncontrolled woman’ dominated the sources in both time periods. Constructed through themes of dirt, loss, sexuality, charity, feminine poise and moral governance, the tropes were underpinned by the concept of character.

Undertaking a historical comparison of alcohol regulation campaign groups enabled an insight into how the discourses used in contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns show clear continuities in the themes and techniques used by campaign groups in the mid-19th century in Britain. These moral regulation projects seek to impact on women’s drinking through a technique which assumes that women possess ‘Character’ – an attribute which the campaign groups assume will respond to the discourses presented in their materials.

Keywords: women, alcohol, moral regulation, control, character.

Table of contents

Index of images	viii
Copyright declaration	x
Chapter 1 – An introduction to women’s drinking:	
What’s the (social) problem?	1
1.1 Outline of the topic	2
1.2 An eternal ‘new’ problem?	4
1.3 Contours of the project	6
1.3.1 Researcher positionality	7
1.4 Topics related, but external to this study	8
1.5 Focus of the research questions	9
1.6 Key concepts	12
1.7 The comparative approach	13
1.8 Overview of the thesis	14
1.9 Original contribution to knowledge	15
1.10 Negotiating the chapters	16
Chapter 2 – Sex, respectability and drink: A review of the literature	19
2.1 Introduction	19
2.1.1 Inclusion and exclusion criteria	23
2.2 What do we know about women drinking 1990 – 2016?	26
2.2.1 Challenges of recording drinking data	28
2.2.2 The emergence of the ‘binge drinker’	29
2.2.3 Explaining the ‘increase’ in women’s drinking	30
2.2.4 Convergence theory	31
2.3 What is known about the social problems of women’s drinking?	33
2.3.1 The drinking landscape	33
2.3.2 The culture of intoxication and the challenge of femininity	35
2.3.3 Hypersexuality	35
2.3.4 The challenge of respectability in the culture of intoxication	36
2.4 What do we know about women’s drinking in the 19 th century?	38
2.4.1 The challenge of statistical data on drinking	39
2.4.2 Changes in the drinking landscape	40
2.4.3 Women’s drinking at the turn of the 20 th century	41
2.5 Explanations for why women’s drinking was a social problem in the 19 th century	44
2.5.1 Industrialisation, pubs and sex	44
2.5.2 Christian faith in the mid-19 th century	46
2.5.3 Separate spheres	47

2.6	Temperance	48
	2.6.1 Teetotal temperance	49
	2.6.2 Women in the temperance movement	50
2.7	Summarising, and looking forward	52
	2.7.1 Key themes of the review	53
	2.7.2 Future directions for research	54
Chapter 3 – Forming feminine drinking: On moral regulation		55
3.1	Introduction	55
3.2	Interrelation of regulatory modes	57
3.3	Genealogy of moral regulation	59
	3.3.1 Durkheim	59
	3.3.2 Corrigan	59
	3.3.3 Dean	61
	3.3.4 Ruonavaara	63
	3.3.5 Hunt, Critcher and Yeomans	63
3.4	Moral regulation and governmentality	66
3.5	Hunger as Ideology	69
3.6	Post-feminist theory	71
3.7	Reflection on moral regulation theory	73
3.8	Conclusion	76
Chapter 4 – Methodology		79
4.1	Introduction	79
	4.1.1 Research questions	79
4.2	Ontology and Epistemology	82
4.3	Comparative study – methodological considerations	86
4.4	Using source materials	93
4.5	Exploring visual materials	98
4.6	Handling the sources	101
	4.6.1 Contemporary materials	103
4.7	Analysis method	104
4.8	Summary	110
Chapter 5 – Findings on the uncontrolled woman		111
5.1	Introduction	111
5.2	Dirt	112
	5.2.1 Dirt in the home	113
	5.2.2 Dirt in the street	114
	5.2.3 Dirt in the public house/bar	116
	5.2.4 Dirty clothes, dirty hair	118
	5.2.5 Body fluids as dirt	120
5.3	Loss	122
	5.3.1 Loss of apparel	123

5.3.2	Loss of furniture	126
5.3.3	Loss of health	127
5.3.4	Loss of freedom	130
5.3.5	Loss of respectability	132
5.4	Sexuality	139
5.4.1	The ‘bad wife’ in the mid-19 th century sources	140
5.4.2	Sexuality as ‘out of control’ in the contemporary sources	142
5.5	Summary	145
Chapter 6 – Findings on the controlled woman		147
6.1	Introduction	147
6.2	Charity	148
6.2.1	Compassion	149
6.3	Self care	159
6.3.1	Care of feminine health	160
6.3.2	Self-care to prevent violence	166
6.4	Moral governance	171
6.4.1	Moral governance through exemplary action	174
6.5	Summary	178
Chapter 7 – Discussion		180
7.1	Introduction	180
7.2	How has women’s drinking been understood as a social problem in the United Kingdom?	182
7.2.1	Women’s drinking as misspent leisure	184
7.2.2	Disorder	187
7.3	How do alcohol regulation campaigns seek to shape normative feminine drinking practices?	201
7.3.1	Discourses of control – asserting sobriety/ controlled drinking as a feminine characteristic	203
7.3.2	Reflecting on the technology of character, and hunger as ideology	206
7.4	Can a historical comparison aid a better understanding of why alcohol regulation campaigns use these discursive formations?	210
7.4.1	Discourses	215
7.4.2	Techniques of regulation	216
7.5	Is this an example of a moral regulation project?	218
7.5.1	The operation of projects	218
7.5.2	The concept of wrongness	222
7.5.3	Formation of the self in moral regulation projects	223
7.6	Statement of the findings	224
7.6.1	A distinctive technique: character and formation of the self	224

7.6.2	Addressing a gap in moral regulation theory on the formation of the moral self.	225
7.7	Summary	226
Chapter 8 – Conclusion		227
8.1	Introduction	227
8.2	Main themes of the thesis	228
8.2.1	The uncontrolled woman	229
8.2.2	The controlled woman	231
8.3	Technologies of regulation	233
8.4	Historical continuities and changes	235
8.4.1	Changes in the tactics of regulation	237
8.4.2	Postfeminism in contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns	240
8.5	Revisiting moral regulation theory	241
8.6	The original contribution to knowledge of this study	242
8.7	Alternative avenues for researching the topic	243
8.8	On knowledge not yet gained, requiring new research	244
8.9	Summary	246
References		247
Appendix 1 - Narrative analysis synthesis table		262
Appendix 2 – 21st century visual sources		280

Index of images

Frontispiece	Illustration from an article ‘A sad sight’ (1851) The Band of Hope Review, September.
Picture 1	Bottletop and Safer Herefordshire partnership, (2009) http://www.bottletop.info/posters/
Picture 2	Drinkaware, Play your night right, #3 The Puker, (2010), https://www.behance.net/gallery/731926/Drinkaware-Play-Your-Night-Right
Picture 3	Night of the reckless drunk, Calderdale council festive season campaign, (2013) http://uk.adforum.com/creative-work/ad/player/34482807
Picture 4	Manchester ‘Go-A-Heads’, No, 148. Ipswich Temperance Tracts Vol. 2, 1846.
Picture 5	‘A night to remember? Or one to forget?’ Diageo ‘The choice is yours’ campaign, 2007/08, http://www.coloribus.com/adsarchive/outdoor/diageo-the-choice-is-yours-11958905/
Picture 6	West Mercia police ‘Don’t let a night full of promise turn into a morning full of regret’ 2012, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-hereford-worcester-19091566
Picture 7	‘The victim of excitement’, Ipswich Temperance Tracts, No. 78: 1848 (p.1)
Picture 8	Diageo, 2007/08, http://www.drinksinitiatives.eu/details-dynamic.php?id=24
Picture 9	‘A night you’ll never forget, A night you can’t remember’ (2011) ‘Why let good times go bad? series’ Drinkaware, http://www.drinksinitiatives.eu/details-dynamic.php?id=313
Picture 10	‘Bridget Larkins’ Ipswich Temperance Tracts, No. 89, 1846.

Picture 11

‘Saturday night’ Scottish Temperance League tracts on
temperance, 1850

Copyright declaration

Attention is drawn to the fact that copyright of this thesis rests with Anglia Ruskin University for one year and thereafter with Rachel Ryder.

This copy of the thesis has been supplied on condition that anyone who consults it is bound by copyright.

Chapter 1 – An introduction to women's drinking: What's the (social) problem?

In September 1851, an article with accompanying illustration, 'A Sad Sight' appeared in 'The Band of Hope Review and Children's Friend'. This article recounted the experience of two gentlemen, passing down Brick Lane, when they witnessed a woman being strapped to a stretcher and carried off by the police. The text informs the reader that she had spent her money in the gin shop 'with its fine lamp' and that the gin 'took away her senses, and made her like a crazed person'. What is particularly striking about this short feature is the illustration (McErlain, 2015; 39). The woman in a state of intoxication, in a horizontal position, resonated with a contemporary image that is prolific in media publications, often referred to colloquially amongst researchers in the field of alcohol studies as 'Bench girl'. The 'Bench girl' image created on 15th October, 2005, by the photographer Matt Cardy. It presents a young woman wearing a black dress and brown, lace up boots, lying on a bench, her arm slipping towards the camera, her face turned away. The assumption of the woman's intoxication is created through the associated objects of an urban night time setting, and two empty alcohol containers, one a bottled lager beer, one a premixed spirit based drink (<http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo/woman-lies-on-a-bench-after-leaving-a-bar-in-bristol-city-news-photo/55937249>, accessed 02/02/2016).

This image caught the attention of Nicholls (2009, 2011) who noted the similarities with eighteenth century depictions of female intoxication, most notably the work of William Hogarth (1697 – 1764). Bench girl has been widely reproduced in national newspapers, as one of the more popular stock photographs of female intoxication. Nicholls (2011) in a content analysis of newspaper and television media over two, month long periods in 2008 and 2009 noted that the representation of female intoxication, whilst as frequent as the representation of male intoxication, qualitatively was distinctively different according to gender. The similarities in the visual cues for identifying the wrongness of conduct of these intoxicated women,

points to how women's drinking has been identified as a perennial concern (Nicholls, 2009: 2) in the discourses on drinking in Britain.

At various points in British history, drinking venues have undergone dramatic changes, and as a consequence, the ways in which women have participated in drinking alcohol have changed too. This study examines how women's drinking has been constructed as a social problem in two time periods, which were identified as times when the drinking landscape, and women's drinking practices, gained significant attention from social reformers, as necessitating action.

In this introduction, I will present the topic investigated in this thesis, explaining why, at this time, this subject is worthy of attention.

1.1 Outline of the topic

Women's use of alcohol is never presented as unrelated to gender values and norms. The theory of drinking as a gendered practice is well established because there appears to be an almost universal understanding that women drink less than men (Rahav et al, 2005: 50; Wilsnack and Wilsnack, 2013: 153; Plant, 1997: 14). This finding has been demonstrated in studies which have sought to measure women's drinking, in different national, cultural and historical settings (Holmila and Raitasalo: 2005: 1763). Not only do women drink less than men, women drink less frequently than men, and fewer women experience alcohol-related harms such as health, social and crime related. Indeed, gender is identified as a 'protective factor' against alcohol related harms (Thom, 1999: 91; Wilsnack and Wilsnack, 1995: 30).

However, women's drinking is almost always presented in pejorative terms (Blackman et al, 2015: pp 47 – 48). On every occasion when women's drinking is examined in popular culture debates on alcohol, the discussion is not focused upon the health and wellbeing of women, but on the threat to moral order (Ettorre, 1997: 89) and the risks posed to the health and wellbeing of children (Waterson, 2000: 15).

It is the intent of this thesis to examine how women's drinking is constructed as a social problem through examining discourses on women's drinking from two time periods. Discourses on women and alcohol can be sought from a variety of artefacts,

such as the media, government papers or medical publications. The intent to undertake a historical comparative analysis has rendered it necessary to identify sources which contain such discourses, but were produced with similar intent, to shape women's drinking practices. Furthermore, to ensure the comparability of the source materials, it is essential to ensure similarities in the use of these materials in the context they were produced. To meet this requirement, materials produced by alcohol regulation campaigns in two distinct time periods form the dataset for this study.

In the early 19th century, a Temperance movement emerged in Britain, having originated in the United States (Harrison, 1994). From the 1820s onwards, a vast number of Temperance organisations formed, with subsequent declines, merges and re-formations according to the prevailing mood within the movement. By the mid-19th century, these Temperance organisations were prolifically promoting their values, through a variety of approaches, such as pledging, preaching and parading. To support the work of many local advocates, an industry of Temperance tracts production developed. These tracts were produced and sold cheaply, to be distributed by Temperance advocates within their communities. The tracts, as outlined in Appendix 1, speak of the dangers, risks and threat posed by drinking alcohol. They were written and illustrated, for different audiences, including children, men, and women. It is the geographically wide availability of these documents which makes them a particularly valuable source for examining how alcohol regulation campaigns sought to shape women's drinking practices.

In the second time period of study, 2004 – 2014, many national and local alcohol regulation campaign groups were operating in Britain. This was in response to a dramatic shift in the drinking landscape, including the most significant licensing act reform for over a century, The Licensing Act 2003. Following the liberalisations of the laws governing the sale of alcohol, concerns about alcohol related disorder resulted in the Alcohol Harm Reduction Strategy for England (AHRSE, 2004). Identification of alcohol related harm and disorder prompted a proliferation of funding for alcohol regulation campaign groups. These groups focused on disseminating information about the risks, dangers and threats of intoxication to adult drinkers only. However, clear gender distinctions are visible in the campaign

materials, because the images used focused on problem male or problem female drinking in entirely separate materials. The most commonly produced materials are posters, placed in public spaces, including drinking venues, to promote 'ideal' drinking practices. It was the national prevalence of these materials, and the initial identification of distinctions emerging in the materials, which indicated that this material would enable an examination of the discourses in the contemporary period.

1.2 *An eternally 'new' problem?*

The role of alcohol in women's lives has been subject to concern, commentary and restriction across many countries and cultures, over centuries. Cox (2013) examines the history of 'bad girls', working class young women cast as a social problem necessitating reform through welfare and criminal justice systems. Citing texts from the 1860s to the 1940s, Cox demonstrates how the 'modern girl' re-emerges, with a "common emphasis on the 'growing' independence of working-class girls, which was constantly reinscribed as both a novelty and a social danger." (Cox, 2013: 4). Similarly, Nicholls (2009) points how women and alcohol is 'a perennial concern' (p.2), however Critcher (2011), in his work on moral regulation and alcohol, points out that social concern over alcohol, irrespective of the gender of drinkers, is sometimes subject to low-level concern, with occasional spikes in the discourses on alcohol and drinkers. Perhaps this factor explains why women's drinking is remarked as the indicator of a new epoch of moral decline when alcohol re-emerges as a social problem in public discourses.

It is arguable that one such spike in public concern emerged in the 1990s, as the drinking landscape changed dramatically following the 1989 Beer Order (Nicholls, 2009: 216), when an enforced sale of public houses directly owned by breweries led to purchase of public houses by retail chains, who then branded and marketed the public houses as part of a 'chain', with shared characteristics in the interiors, the entertainment provided and the food and beverage on sale. The impact of the changes in the drinking landscape on the re-emergence of women's drinking as a social problem will be examined in detail in Chapter 2. However, it is imperative to note that a combination of changes in the presence and styles of drinking venues, shifts in the social and economic status of women and emerging gender ideologies combined to create significant increase in (particularly young) women drinking in public venues in

urban centres across the United Kingdom. This phenomenon instigated a flurry of academic study on women and alcohol over the past 26 years.

Whilst it is argued that women's alcohol consumption peaked in the early 2000s (Measham and Ostergaard, 2009) the media and political discourses on women and alcohol as a social problem have not declined correspondingly. In a content analysis of alcohol in print media and television news broadcasting, Nicholls identified that the two most common categories of images about alcohol in national newspapers were of female celebrities presented as intoxicated, and unknown women, unconscious due to intoxication (Nicholls, 2011; 203). Nicholls argues that the images present both a gender convergence, as there are equal numbers of females as males represented in the images of intoxication. However, clear gender distinctions emerge, as female intoxication is presented as wrong through loss of bodily control, whereas male intoxication is linked to violence (p. 205). The use of stock images of female intoxication, even when the text associated with the image is not focused on female drinking, serves to demonstrate how female intoxication has become a visual cue for critical discourses on contemporary drinking practices. This has entrenched the discourse that young women's drinking is problematic, and in need of regulation. These discourses have not declined correspondingly with the decline in binge drinking from the early 2000s.

In health policy debates, in recent years there has been an increasing diversification of focus on the women whose drinking is presented as risky, from a focus almost solely on young women (age 16 – 25) to older women, who mostly drink in the home. Changes in the advice given on the number of units of alcohol that can be safely consumed in 2016 has presented a dramatic shift to gender equality in the maximum number of units of alcohol recommended per week to 14 for both men and women (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-35255384>, accessed 10/01/2016). This tells us that in the face of declining alcohol consumption (Institute for Alcohol Studies, 2013:4), the problematisation of drinking continues. This is because concerns about alcohol have considerable longevity, and are linked to wider social concerns about disorder.

The historical continuity of discourses on women's drinking as a social problem, which do not correspond with any sensitivity to the changes in women's drinking

practices, raises the question of why women's drinking is constructed as a social problem, and exactly what it is about women drinking that prompts such commentary and motivation for reforming drinking practices.

1.3 Contours of the project

As the title of this study suggests, the focus is on women's drinking. As will be explored in the literature review, drinking is a distinctively gendered practice, and the construction of drinking as a social problem, also reflects clear gender distinctions. The intention of this study is to find out how women's drinking has been constructed as a social problem, requiring regulatory intervention, across two time periods. The substance of this topic is such that the patterns in men's drinking, and the regulatory discourses seeking to impact on normative masculine drinking practices, will not be explored in any detail. In the literature review, minimal comparative references to men's drinking will be made, but for the majority of this study, the place of men in the regulation of women's drinking will not be given significant attention.

The geographical location of the alcohol regulation campaign groups examined here will be restricted to the United Kingdom. The distinctive construction of alcohol as a problematic substance, and drinkers as a source of social problems, in the United Kingdom is particularly interesting, due to the apparently perennial interest in this subject, the forms of regulatory intervention, and the impact of the temperance movement on use of alcohol in the UK.

Another significant feature of this study is that it performs a historical comparative analysis, focusing on materials produced in the Temperance movements in the mid 19th century (1830 – 1872) and in the contemporary period, 2004 – 2014. To contextualise the findings from the source materials, the literature review will look at a wider timespan of research on women and alcohol. The contemporary literature will explore the period 1990 – 2017, when there was significant flourishing of social science research on contemporary women's drinking. The literature relating to women's drinking in 1830 – 1872 will be drawn from a much longer timespan, including contemporary literature, and modern literature exploring the mid-19th century period.

The materials examined in this study, temperance tracts and alcohol campaign posters use both images and text to convey their messages. Therefore, for this project the analysis process had to work to analyse visual and textual data concurrently. The tool used in the data analysis process will be described in detail in section 4.7 of Chapter Four.

1.3.1 Researcher positionality

In this study, the approach to the topic of women and alcohol can be described as broadly sociological. My sociological interests are in behaviours which could be described as ‘morally ambiguous’ – those which, in modern history, have not consistently been subject to legal sanctions – and the ways in which women participate in them. I wrote my undergraduate and Masters degree theses on women’s gambling in two periods, the time around the Betting and Gaming Act 1960, which legalised off-track bookmakers, and the practice of milkmen taking small bets from women during their rounds. This interest in the historical legacies of regulating troublesome behaviours, especially concerning women’s participation in them, led me to the topic of gendered drinking practices.

Whilst the more formal modes of regulation of women’s drinking could be explored through examining policy and legal documents, this study explores the attempts to shape women’s drinking practices through discourses. These are more informal methods of regulation than state intervention. To pursue this, the theoretical framework underpinning this study is moral regulation theory, which establishes a process by which behaviour is problematised. It also draws attention to the historical formation of moral discourses, which show how the legacy of past norms and values continue to operate in moral regulation projects. However, existing models of moral regulation theory do not present a method for analysing the techniques used to shape conduct; therefore I will draw upon the theory of feminine appetite put forward by Bordo (2003) which is discussed further on page 10. My analysis of the construction of specific behaviours as social problems, perceived as necessitating reform by extra-state and state agencies, relates to theoretical frameworks of governance, which is approached through the concept of moral regulation. The techniques of governing

gendered drinking practices are analysed further through post-feminist theory, and through considering Rose's (1999) ideas on projects of governmentality. Post-feminist theory will be introduced in section 3.5, and explored in greater detail in chapter 7.

1.4 Topics related, but external to this project

The topic of women and alcohol could be explored via many different avenues. Drinking can describe light to moderate drinking practices (as advocated in contemporary alcohol policy), through to binge drinking, and alcoholism. In the initial scoping review of the alcohol regulation campaign materials, the primary forms of female drinking constructed in the discourses were light to moderate drinking, binge drinking, and in the mid-19th century, abstinence. Definitions of alcoholism, as a chronic dependence on consuming alcohol, have changed and developed over time, rendering it very challenging to compare discourses on women and alcoholism. Therefore, whilst women's experiences of alcoholism are strongly related to this study on the regulation of women's drinking, the distinctive characteristics of alcoholism mean that it will not be explored in this study.

Related to the topic of alcoholism, as a biomedical condition of dependence on alcohol, this study will not explore the social construction of addiction as a problem requiring intervention. The developing ideas about addiction through the 20th century renders it challenging to make direct comparisons about how addicts to alcohol were discursively constructed. In the mid-19th century, disease models of understanding alcohol addiction were developing, however the narratives of sin and vice also continued in discourses on problem drinkers. Their moral weakness or degradation was the primary problem to fix, to stop the individual drinker from becoming drunk. In contemporary narratives, moral judgements of the alcohol dependent remain, but better understanding of the social causes of addiction, as well as greater knowledge on how addiction impacts upon the body, shapes policy and interventions for addicts.

One topic which has informed this study, the persistence of gender differences in alcohol consumption, and disparities between men and women who drink experiencing alcohol related social problems, will not be explored in any great depth. Biomedical accounts of gender differences in alcohol consumption practices are

briefly discussed in section 2.2 of chapter 2, however establishing a study which could explore the historical persistence of women drinking less than men, taking into account biological differences, is not possible, due to the differences in the data available on alcohol consumption and the body over these time periods. The social constructions of difference between masculine and feminine drinking, however, are accessible over historical time periods, supporting the potential of studying how views of gendered drinking persists over time.

This project has clearly defined time period boundaries, as discussed previously. The necessity to do so is to support comparative analysis of materials, which share many commonalities. The mid-19th century presents a period when the drinking landscape, women's economic participation, and alcohol regulations changed dramatically. Several of the features of these changes are reflected in the social and regulatory changes in the 1990s through to the present time. An alternative approach to this historical emphasis could be to take a narrative overview, relating the story of women, alcohol and regulation, over a longer, continuous time frame. The time periods could be extended to cover the Gin Pandemic, and the first decades of the 20th century. However, this approach would render the study far too large to engage in exploring in-depth the social problem of women drinking, and would be likely to replicate some sophisticated work already undertaken (Warner, 2003; Moss, 2009).

1.5 Focus of the research questions

The study undertaken in this thesis set out to understand why women's drinking is constructed as a social problem, when the existing body of data tells us that (compared to men) few women experience harmful drinking or addiction problems, few are drawn into the criminal justice system due to their drinking practices, and fewer women than men require medical care due to their drinking practices. These facts are recognised to be stable over time period and geographic location, entrenching the concept that fewer women present socially problematic drinking behaviour than men. This provides a sharp distinction with the continuity of public discourses which construct women's drinking as a social problem.

The research questions are:

1. How has women's drinking been understood as a social problem in the United Kingdom?
2. How do alcohol regulation campaigns seek to shape normative feminine drinking practices?
3. Can a historical comparison aid a better understanding of why alcohol regulation campaigns use these discursive formations?
4. Is this an example of a moral regulation project?

To answer the first question, I will begin by examining the body of literature on women's drinking. This review takes both the long view, presenting how historians have viewed women's drinking in the UK, from the 15th century, to the vast range of data available on contemporary women's drinking. The findings from the data analysis will show that women's drinking has been constructed primarily as a problem of social disorder. By examining the literature and the findings of this study, the nuances of the disorder or 'wrongness' of women's drinking (thus rendering it a subject of moral regulation projects throughout history) emerge.

Following on, the second question, which emerged from the exploration of the literature on theories concerning discourses of regulation, is how do alcohol regulation campaigns seek to shape normative feminine drinking practices? In Bordo's (2003) essay 'Hunger as Ideology' she presents arguments for how food advertisements construct gender ideology through the presentation of slenderness, of total control over hunger, indulgence in small, controlled quantities, and of the feminisation of food preparation. In this essay, Bordo presents various advertisements to assert how these discourses seek to construct a gender ideology in which women are disinterested in food, femininity is demonstrated through satiating desire for junk food in tiny quantities, and in food preparation, not in eating heartily. These gender ideologies, Bordo argues, shape gendered food consumption practices, and are thus shaping regulatory discourse. This insight supported a model for understanding the role gender ideology plays in the techniques used by alcohol regulation campaign groups.

The third question asks can a historical comparison aid a better understanding of why alcohol regulation campaigns use these discursive formations. Existing approaches to the development of discourses on alcohol as a problem substance, taken by Hunt (1999), Critcher (2003, 2009) and Yeomans (2013) point the historical development aspect of many contemporary moral regulation projects. Hunt argues for the relational aspect of moral regulation projects, presenting how a wide range of matters, including alcohol, have been the subject of moral relation projects, in which the wrongness of conduct by some is defined by others, often in a position of greater privilege. Critcher points out that moral regulation is an ongoing action, in which discourses on subjects such as alcohol are continuously constructed as a problem on a low level, and at various points in time, re-emerge to prominence in public discourse and policy debates. There are many approaches to moral regulation theory, which account for their operation at the macro and meso structures of society. Until this point, there has been limited exploration of how moral regulation projects operate at the micro level. Through considering this question, I will argue that the themes around women's drinking presented in the sources that show many historical continuities. Furthermore, I will argue that the techniques of moral regulation projects in the contemporary period are a consequence of the historical legacy of Temperance.

The final question leads to the consideration if these materials are an example of a moral regulation project. The materials produced in the alcohol regulation campaigns examined in this study seek to shape women's drinking practices, which in public discourse, are constructed as 'a problem' in need of regulation. Moral regulation theory points to an approach to identifying when an event or movement can be conceptualised as moral regulation, however there have been limited approaches to understanding how the techniques of moral regulation operate. This question will guide the consideration of the findings, to examine if the processes of moral regulation, which will be set out in chapter three, are replicated in the actions, discourses and materials produced by the alcohol regulation campaign groups, who produced the artefacts studied here. By approaching moral regulation of the individual, the findings demonstrate how a distinctive technique is used in the alcohol regulation campaign groups, which works on the assumption of the possession of 'character' by the female audience.

1.6 *Key concepts*

This comparative historical study of the regulation of women's drinking will explore themes around gender, ideology and regulation. Two particular concepts are pertinent to this study, that of character, and soft regulation.

Character, as indicated by Zedner (1994) is an inner site or location of conduct regulation for the individual human. It is the site in which norms and values can be situated, shaped, reformed and regulated through socialisation into norms, values and legal codes of the culture in which the individual is situated. Character, therefore, is necessarily unfixed and adaptive. Character develops over time, and is shaped by the norms and values of the individuals specific cultural context, depending upon the production of their gender, age, ethnic, national and religious identity within that culture.

Alcohol regulation campaigns seek to shape conduct of the drinker, by presenting scenarios of ideal and transgressive drinking practices. They assume the (in this instance, female) viewer will respond to these scenarios because they possess the same norms and values of the author of these materials, and their 'inner' character will respond to such scenarios to shape and regulate their drinking conduct in the ways proposed as ideal by the alcohol regulation campaign materials.

Character has had other applications and meanings, which have interesting relationships to this approach to the concept. Collini (2007) examined character in Victorian political discourse, identifying how "character was an ascribed quality, possessed and enjoyed in public view." (p.225). Character, as a recognised inner trait, which may be either good or bad, but its public recognition of the worth of an individual's character was what mattered in this period. The public visibility of 'feminine character' is something that relates to the work of contemporary feminists in alcohol studies such as Doherty (2013) in her study of performing feminine respectability in the Night Time Economy. What matters in this study, however, is that character is the site of focus for the alcohol regulation campaigners in the attempt to shape feminine drinking conduct.

Shaping feminine drinking conduct is conducted through myriad and complex regulatory forms, as will be discussed in section 3.2. At this point, I wish to define the concept of ‘soft regulation’ – that is, the informal, discourse enabled, often unconscious methods of shaping conduct. Whilst hard regulation is highly visible, corporeal and formalised, such as legal sanctions over conduct, soft regulation describes the informal modes of regulation. Soft regulation primarily uses discourse to shape conduct. It is performed informally, such as in discourse in everyday interactions, and semi-formally, such as in public information campaigns. This concept is drawn upon because these discursive formations, whilst informal and often unconsciously learned in the shaping of feminine conduct, they are powerful. This is because problem female drinking is, as indicated in part 1.1, recognised as quantitatively different to male drinking. Whilst few drinking women’s conduct is directly shaped by hard regulations such as arrest or intervention by a social worker, feminine drinking practices globally are understood to be less problematic than masculine drinking practices.

1.7 The comparative approach

This study is using a historical comparative methodology, an approach to historical and sociological analysis which emerged from the 1960s (Mahoney and Rueschemeyer, 2003:7). Whilst Ruonavaara (1997) stated that moral regulation is a particular type of historical sociology, in that it is often applied to long periods of history to explain the formation of certain subjects of moral regulation, the approach to understanding the formation and regulation of ‘problem’ subjects does not necessitate a historical approach. However, the formation of a social problem does not occur out of a moral vacuum, as Gutzke’s (2014) analysis of women’s drinking appears to presume. The continuity of subjects of moral regulation is apparent in the studies of Hunt (1999) and Valverde and Weir (2006). Hunt points out that the target of moral regulation changes throughout different periods in history, but that the projects remain largely similar.

Taking a comparative historical approach will support this study to make new insights into the topic. Firstly, it will enable greater understanding of how women’s drinking has come to be constructed as a social problem in the contemporary period, showing how the historical legacies of Victorian gender ideology continue to be utilised in

moral regulation projects. Secondly, comparing the techniques used in the alcohol regulation campaign materials to shape normative feminine drinking practices will show how the technologies of moral regulation projects are also historical formations. These outcomes will foster new insights into the micro practices of moral regulation projects, demonstrating how gender ideology, and the technologies used to shape its continuity, should be seen as historical formations.

1.8 Overview of the thesis

The structure of the thesis was primarily shaped by two factors, (i) the breadth of literature available for examination and (ii) the emergence of two distinct tropes of femininity in the data. As discussed in the outline of the topic, this study involves a historical comparative analysis of the regulation of women's drinking. As such this necessitated gathering literature on two distinct periods in history, the contemporary period, and the mid 19th century. The literature on the contemporary period is substantial, providing a substantial context to establish what it is about women's drinking in contemporary Britain which renders it a social problem to be changed. The material on women's drinking in the mid-19th century offers few direct insights into the lives of drinking women, however analysis of gender ideology and women's role in the Temperance societies provided an obscured view of what might be considered problematic about women drinking in the mid 19th century. In all, the substance of material to be considered necessitated a separate theory chapter.

In the analysis process (described in detail in Chapter 4 – Methodology) it became evident that two distinct tropes of femininity were the primary mechanism by which the technologies of moral regulation were enacted. By close examination of these two tropes, the unifying characteristic of each was their relation to control. The idealised femininity was presented through the control evident in her body, character and social conditions. Conversely, the transgressive femininity was presented through a lack of control, abandonment of character, loss of attractiveness and the depravity of her social conditions. These tropes carried through the sources from both time periods, thus supporting a constant comparison of the tropes of femininity in each time period.

The findings demonstrated that a distinct technique is used in the alcohol regulation campaign materials in both periods, demonstrating historical continuities of both the

content and the technologies used in moral regulation campaigns at the micro level. In the discussion, the place of these technologies, as a part of wider structures of regulatory processes shaping women's drinking practices, are examined, drawing out new insights into the place of governance through discourses of the moral.

1.9 Original contribution to knowledge

The original contributions to knowledge generated in this study will be presented in greater detail in part 8.6 of this thesis. This original research as generated contributions to knowledge in moral regulation theory, feminism and alcohol studies. The first is that contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns primarily construct women's drinking as a problem of disorder. This is a clear continuity from the mid-19th century period. The focus of the campaign materials is on control, as demonstrated through the use of two tropes of femininity in the discourses. I labelled these tropes the 'controlled woman' and 'the uncontrolled woman'. These tropes contain variations in theme, reflecting the time period in which they were produced, but always fitting within the framework of two tropes. This finding emphasises how contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns, whilst presenting an apparent liberalisation for women to participate in drinking in the Night Time Economy (NTE) serves to reinforce gender ideologies of normative femininity which are a legacy of Victorian values. This argument connects to McRobbie's (2009) postfeminist theory of femininity in contemporary media.

This study has also contributed new insights into the place of regulation in studies of gender and leisure. The materials examined here concern attempts to shape women's drinking conduct because it is identified as a source of potential social disorder. Concerns about working class leisure time and practices is a well-established field of study (Clarke and Critcher, 1985) and increasing knowledge of how leisure practices are gendered has emphasised the myriad sites in which the regulation of feminine conduct takes place. The developments in the NTE, as will be seen in chapter 2, resulted in a significant increase in participation of women in drinking in bars, pubs and nightclubs. Whilst these young women are given equality to participate as consumers, gender ideologies continue to operate within the leisure sphere, resulting

in limitations of expression of female agency, both in drinking conduct, and in the attempts made to shape feminine drinking conduct by extra-state agencies.

A final contribution is to the field of moral regulation theory. As will be explored in chapter 3, existing studies of moral regulation have looked at the macro and mezzo formations for shaping and governing conduct. This study has sought to establish how micro processes operate within a moral regulation project. A project which has a clearly defined sense of wrongness of a form of conduct, and seeks to achieve reform. Instead of seeking highly formalised regulatory modes, such as changes in the law, these projects use discourses to act upon the conduct of the audience. As these projects are formed at some distance from the state, they are referred to as extra-state organisations. Their use of discourse as the means of shaping feminine drinking conduct relies upon an assumption of ‘character’ as a trait which responds to the discourses they present through posters and tracts. Character is a useful term in that it highlights both the assumed inner trait which responds to discourses, and the simultaneous awareness of evaluation of character through conduct such as drinking alcohol. It emphasises the moral aspect of the evaluation of conduct taking place. This form of regulation is certainly less corporeal than more formalised methods of regulation, such as criminal justice sanctions, yet it is a pervasive regulatory formation. To differentiate these techniques, yet highlight their interrelatedness, I refer to this method of micro processes of regulation as ‘soft regulation’.

1.10 Negotiating the chapters.

The structure of the chapters in this thesis follows a traditional set of chapter themes, with two chapters presenting the findings. Using two chapters reflects the two distinctive tropes which emerged in the first stage of the data analysis. As is illustrated in the contents pages, I have made extensive use of sub-headings to support easier navigation of the chapters.

In Chapter 2 (Sex, respectability and drink: A review of the literature) I set out some definitions of the key terminology used throughout this thesis, define the inclusion and exclusion criteria for the identification of literature for the review, then undertake a review of the key themes set out in the existing body of literature identified. The

chapter is divided to present literature concerning contemporary women's drinking separately from the material on women's drinking in the 19th century, because the content and breadth of material differ considerably over these time periods. This highlights the gaps in the existing body of knowledge across the two time periods, as the questions remaining unanswered become evident as the two bodies of literature are compared.

The third chapter - Forming feminine drinking: On moral regulation – presents a review of theoretical approaches to how discourses seek to impact on specific behaviours by specific groups of people. The chapter explores the genealogy of moral regulation theory, points to some feminist appraisals and interpretations of moral regulation, and draws upon an essay by Bordo (2003) 'Hunger as ideology' to support the development of a theoretical framework for examining how moral regulation seeks to impact on micro practices of the individual.

The theory chapter intends to draw an overview of moral regulation theory, pointing to its gaps in offering an approach to understanding how techniques of moral regulation enact at the micro level, thus creating the need to draw upon Bordo's theories of how gender ideology is shaped through the construction of femininity and appetite for food.

The fourth chapter - methodology – presents the ontological and epistemological positions adopted in this study, followed by a detailed examination of the processes followed in undertaking the research activities. As this study involves document source material, the processes for handling the materials, how they were identified, recorded and categorised are explored in detail. The analysis technique implemented in this study is described, to ensure clarity in understanding the processes that led to the findings drawn from the data.

Chapter 5 presents the first dominant trope in the findings, that of the uncontrolled woman. Data from both time periods is presented in the chapter, comparatively examining the findings under three thematic headings: Dirt, loss and sexuality. Sub-headings are used extensively to present the different strands within each theme, which enables the different approaches to the same theme taken in each time period.

Chapter 6 presents the second trope in the findings, the controlled woman. Following the same structural pattern as the first set of findings presented in chapter 5, three broad themes are presented: Charity, self-care and moral governance. Again, comparative discussion points between the findings produced in each time period around the theme emerge throughout the chapter.

The discussion of these findings is presented in Chapter Seven, contemplating how women's drinking has been problematised primarily as an issue of social disorder. Again, extensive use is made of sub-headings, to enable easier navigation of the different aspects of the responses to the research questions.

In the conclusion, I consider how the historical comparative approach played a pivotal role in identifying the role Victorian values have played in shaping the themes of contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns. Furthermore, historical comparison enabled the recognition of the distinctive technique for shaping conduct – the focus taken on character within the documents. Without historical comparison, the role of character in gendered alcohol regulation campaigns would not stand out so clearly, as the discourses from each time period present different themes of good or bad conduct in relation to female drinking. Whilst the themes change, the technique for shaping conduct remains the same. This finding marks the contribution to moral regulation theory; it contributes new insights into the processes of regulating the individual in a moral regulation project. This finding also extends the body of knowledge on gender and theories of leisure. Furthermore, it locates the contemporary regulation campaigns firmly within the lexicon of Postfeminism, linking these campaigns to contemporary media.

Furthermore, throughout the course of this project, many alternative avenues for exploring women and alcohol through research activity were identified, but due to the constraints of this study, were not pursued. Similarly, further gaps in the knowledge have emerged, and these are reflected upon at the conclusion to this study.

Chapter 2 – Sex, respectability and drink: A review of the literature

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this literature review is to explore what is known about women's drinking as a social problem, in both contemporary Britain, and in the mid 19th century. To gain a detailed overview of this subject, literature from a range of disciplines will be included. The argument at the centre of this review is that drinking is socially constructed as a gendered practice, therefore how it is considered a social problem reproduces gender ideology.

The approach to this topic is also influenced by the paradox presented by the 'knowledge' of women's drinking. The existing evidence base tells us that women do drink less than men (Rahav et al, 2005: 50; Wilsnack and Wilsnack, 2013: 153; Plant, 1997: 14). This is demonstrated in a wide variety of ways of measuring drinking, such as total consumption, frequency, or alcohol related harms (Wilsnack and Wilsnack, 2013: 154). I wish to argue, that, despite this widely acknowledged positive gender difference, women's drinking is discursively constructed as a greater problem than men's drinking practices (Etorre, 1997: 15; Waterson, 2000: 12, Blackman, 2015: 47). It is possible to argue that the negative discourses of women's drinking cannot solely be related to knowledge about women's drinking from prevalence studies.

The material differences in gendered drinking practices are supported through the discourses constructing the ways women drink – referred to here, as normative feminine drinking practices. 'Normative feminine drinking practices' intends to convey the idea that drinking practices which involve drinking lower quantities are identified as female/feminine. This is achieved to the extent that they become norms, or widely held beliefs about social practice within a specific context. Normative feminine drinking practices are not a fixed entity; they are constantly changing within the wider material context, reflecting ideas about both alcohol and women simultaneously. Normative feminine drinking practices are constructed through discursive constructions of women and alcohol.

‘Discursive constructions’ refer to the ways textual and visual representations represent and construct cultural norms and values. This process is described by Mills (2004) as “a discourse is not a disembodied collection of statements, but groupings of utterances or sentences, statements which are enacted within a social context, which are determined by that social context and which contribute to the way that social context comes into existence” (Mills, 2004: 10). The simultaneous reflection and (re)production of social norms and values through discourse means that discourses are powerful ways of shaping practice and beliefs, but also offer a focus for analysing how institutions such as patriarchy are maintained within a social-cultural context. This review seeks to discover how women’s drinking has been understood as a social problem, which necessitates intervention and regulation in its social context. Therefore, the literature discussed will primarily draw upon social science disciplines.

The context from which this literature review will be undertaken starts from the assertion that women’s drinking is a perennial concern (Nicholls, 2009: 2) which has emerged frequently into social and political debate around drinking practices, in the United Kingdom (for the purposes of this study, the literature will concern drinking in the United Kingdom only). However, it is my belief that this concern does not derive from a well-developed evidence base demonstrating that large numbers of women are drinking problematically (Mackiewicz, 2015: 66). The discursive construction of women’s drinking as ‘problematic’ can be identified in the prevalence of negative imagery of women drinking in contemporary media (Staddon, 2006; 250; Day et al, 2006; 167; Nicholls, 2009; 237) and in the sexist discourses of women’s drinking in public health campaigns.

The relevance of examining the history of women’s drinking as a social problem in this study is to create new insights into how certain behaviours are constructed as a problem within a social context, to understand the extent to which the facets of the social problem are a consequence of their time, or are a product of historically developed ideas about women, drink and social problems.

It is the historical continuity of this concern, coupled with the prevalence of negative imagery, which has stimulated considerable academic interest in the topic. However, the focus of studies on women’s drinking has rarely taken these historical continuities

into account (Berridge, 2005: pp16 – 18). The motivation to undertake a comparative study is to highlight the extent to which negative views of women drinking are entrenched in this social context. Women's drinking is almost always presented in pejorative terms (Blackman et al, 2015: pp 47 – 48). On every occasion when women's drinking is examined popular culture debates on alcohol, the discussion is not focused upon the health and wellbeing of women, but on the threat to moral order (Ettorre, 1997: 89) and the risks posed to the health and wellbeing of children (Waterson, 2000: 15).

This literature review will encapsulate reviews on two distinct yet interrelated areas, studies on women's drinking in the contemporary period (primarily dealing with literature from the period 1990 – 2017) and historical approaches to women's drinking in the Victorian period (1830 – 1872). The two time periods examined within this review have differences in the maturity of the topic and the breadth of material available to review.

'Alcohol studies' is a term used to define a body of research which is multi-disciplinary. It incorporates studies into the production of different forms of alcoholic drinks, places and spaces of sale and consumption, drinking styles and beliefs, and the social, health and criminal harms related to alcohol consumption. There was a surge of academic interest in alcohol towards the turn of the 20th Century, during which time academic journals dedicated to alcohol studies were founded (e.g. *Addiction*, founded 1884). Some of these journals have continued to publish to the present day, however women's drinking as a sustained interest in the field did not re-emerge until the mid-20th century.

Moving on to the present period of academic interest in women and alcohol, there has been a sustained interest in this topic since the 1970s, following the establishment of the Camberwell Council on Alcoholism (Camberwell Council on Alcoholism, 1980; Thom, 1999: pp74 - 77). At this point, it is important to note that social science research on women's drinking has developed considerably over the time period 1970 to 2017. Heavily influenced by second wave feminism, this starting point led to a focus on women who were defined as alcoholics, with the explicit aim of drawing attention to the unmet health needs of this population group (Thom, 1999: 89; Plant,

1997: 217; Ettorre, 1997: 113). Accounting for the diversity of women's drinking practices was of interest in anthropological studies (Gefou-Madianou, 1992: 2). However, this did not enter into mainstream social science until the cultural turn in the late 20th century (Bonnell and Hunt, 1999: 2). The cultural turn coincided with a significant shift in the drinking landscape of UK urban areas, which resulted in an increased visible presence for women drinking alcohol in public spaces (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003: 151; Nicholls, 2009: 237; Measham and Ostergaard, 2009: 422). This development has resulted in wide ranging and innovative approaches to researching women's drinking practices, thus establishing a field in which different aspects of the problem of women's drinking can be analysed. In contemporary social science literature, the lived experience of gendered drinking practices is a well-developed field of knowledge.

The story of women's drinking in Victorian England, however, presents a field of very limited knowledge. Historical studies of alcohol in this period have primarily focused on the role of temperance organisations (Harrison, 1994: 9; Shiman, 1988: 9; Black, 2015: xi). Criminological accounts have also explored alcohol related offending in this period (D'Cruze, 1998: 40; Davies, 1999: 80; Cox et al, 2007: 80). Both of these approaches present barriers to obtaining broader knowledge about women's drinking practices. Gutzke (2014) has contributed the most extensive history of women drinking to date, however the study begins in the late Victorian period (c. 1890) the time from which, Gutzke argues, that respectable women began to visit public houses (pubs) without fear of harm to their reputation (Gutzke, 2014: pp 19 – 21). Gutzke places particular emphasis on the changing pub landscapes as the chief explanation for increasing participation of women in pubs from this time period, citing the development of ladies saloons for enabling respectable women to use pubs (p. 22). The focus on the respectable female patron leads to Gutzke's analysis overlooking the experience of women who drank in pubs and beer shops, prior to the emergence of the ladies saloon.

The study of Temperance organisations in the Victorian period is an extensive field, from studies of the activities of local branch members, specific practices such as preaching and parades, to extensive overviews of all the different branches of Temperance organisations and activities (Harrison, 1994). Within this field, relatively

few women feature in the literature. The women who are present in the knowledge of Temperance organisations were some of the most publicly known figures of their time (Shiman, 1988: 182). The multitudes of women who occupied organisationally minor roles (yet were some of the most active members) are under-accounted for. The key omission in such histories, however, is the silent population group Temperance activists were seeking to reform: drinkers. Whilst journalists such as Mayhew (1851) investigated the lives, including the drinking, of the poor in London, this is a study of poverty, not of drinking practices, conducts, norms or values. Thus there is little in this literature to describe a body of knowledge on women who drink in the Victorian period.

The description of the literature given above features some of the key terms used as inclusion and exclusion criteria in the search for literature relevant to this review.

2.1.1 Inclusion and exclusion criteria

The primary inclusion criterion is that the literature concerns women's drinking. Women's drinking can be approached in the literature in many ways, through looking for information on specific drinking practices, such as problem drinking or alcoholism. Many studies on drinking practices in different cultures include data on women's drinking, but often this is a sub theme to the main focus on men's drinking practice. Women and alcohol can also be researched by looking at the role of women in the production and sale of alcohol; however, this tells us little about the practices of alcohol consumption by women. This review prioritises inclusion of literature which is primarily concerned with the drinking practices of women.

The theoretical frameworks underpinning this study, moral regulation, governance and post-feminism, establish a primary concern for understanding how drinking conduct is shaped or governed. In order to approach existing literature which enabled insights on techniques of regulation, and the historical formation of discourses on women and drink in a moral regulation campaign, the sub-criteria which are the most relevant to this study are activities associated with drinking, places in which women are drinking, and values associated with feminine drinking.

The review encapsulates literature on contemporary studies, specifically from 1990 to 2017, and on Victorian England. The contemporary literature sought is limited to the period 1990 to the present because in this time a wider approach to women's drinking emerged in the literature, moving away from the focus on women's problem drinking which dominated from the 1970s, as discussed previously.

This review also has a primary inclusion factor of literature concerning women's drinking in the UK context only. Some literature is available on women's use of intoxicants in many geographic locations (McDonald, 1994; Gefou-Madianou, 1992) and there is a vast body of knowledge on women's role in the United States Temperance movements in the 19th Century (Fletcher, 2007). However, including such literature would necessitate a greater number of comparative analyses than is possible to examine in this study. For the purposes of examining gendered regulation in alcohol regulation campaigns in two historical periods, focusing on data from one nation will ensure shared dominant cultural practices and values will be characteristics of the two data sets. This will support a good comparative analysis of the two time periods.

The exclusion criteria for this review include studies which are primarily concerned with the drinking practices of men. Such studies do occasionally include some data or evidence of relevance to this study, but for the purposes of forming a manageable body of literature to review; these studies are to be excluded. Another discipline which is of relevance to the topic and which forms part of the exclusion criteria is literature primarily concerned with alcoholism (or alcohol addiction) among women. The reasons for these exclusion criteria are that this study focuses on the social problem of women's drinking without explicit reference to addictions. This is because the understanding and definition of alcoholism in the Victorian period was limited, and the ability to find evidence which would be comparable with contemporary research on women defined as alcoholic is not possible. In addition, the literature on women who are defined as alcoholic in contemporary research is a well-established field (Ettorre, 1997: 15; Staddon, 2006, 2015) which does not require re-examination in this study.

Another well developed field of studies on women's drinking which will be excluded from this review is epidemiology or prevalence studies, the extent of drinking practices within a population group. The body of knowledge is well established; however it does not contribute to understanding how a woman's drinking is constructed as a social problem because statistical data tells us how the phenomena is being measured, which is interesting in terms of how drinking practices are defined by epidemiologists, but this does not inform an understanding of the social construction of women's drinking in a broader socio-cultural context. This is because such studies often rely upon self-reporting data, which is recognised as incurring issues with reliability and validity (Embree and Whitehead, 1993).

The examination of the biological effects of alcohol consumption is to be excluded from the research. The body of knowledge on the biological effects of alcohol does include information on how alcohol is processed differently according to gender. This could have some impact on how gendered drinking norms have developed, as the physiological experience of alcohol consumption (such as blood alcohol levels peaking more quickly for women than men drinking the same quantity of alcohol) may act as a mode of regulation, resulting in women drinking less alcohol than men due to experiencing signs of intoxication from fewer drinks than men. Although this data could be useful for examining how biological gender constructions may reflect social constructions of normative feminine drinking practices, it is less relevant to exploring the constituent factors of the social problem of women's drinking. Biological explorations of women who drink alcohol would bring different research questions, especially concerning the relationship of food digestion, type of drink, and speed of drinking on women's bodies when processing alcohol. These factors (eating whilst drinking, choice of drinks and speed of drinking) are shaped by gendered drinking norms, which are the interest of this study, not the impact of these behaviours on the body when processing alcohol.

As noted in comments in the discussion on inclusion criteria, this review concerns literature focused on women's drinking in the contemporary period, and in the mid 19th century. This is to the exclusion of a number of other historical periods which could have been selected, particularly the Georgian period, in which the first sustained

public concern about women's drinking practices emerged. However, this topic has been investigated thoroughly (Warner, 2003).

Relevant literature for this review has been identified through using the inclusion criteria (primary and sub-categories) in the Cambridge University Library search engine and the Anglia Ruskin University library search engine. Searches were conducted every six months over the period 2011 to the present. These search methods produced a wide range of journal articles, and books. Other books were identified through recommendation of academics at alcohol studies conferences with who I discussed my research during the period 2011 – 2016.

2.2 *What do we know about women's drinking 1990 - 2016?*

The measurement of alcohol consumption is undertaken nationally on a regular basis in the UK (Mackiewicz, 2015; 66). Methods of measurement vary, with some studies questioning participants on the types and number of glasses of alcohol consumed in a week. However, the standardised measurement for alcohol consumption is the 'unit'. In the UK, until January 2016, women were given a lower recommendation of the number of units of alcohol which can be safely consumed without incurring threats to health and wellbeing (<http://www.drinkaware.co.uk/check-the-facts/health-effects-of-alcohol/effects-on-the-body/alcohol-and-women>, 14/02/2014).

The gender differentiation of numbers of units which drinkers are advised are a safe daily drinking limit in the UK from 1995 to 2016 (which was 2/3 units for women, 3/4 for men, with regular alcohol free days) was argued to be necessary due to some of the differences in processing alcohol in the female and the male body. Changes in the advice given on consumption of alcohol units in 2016 has presented a dramatic shift to gender equality in the maximum number of units of alcohol recommended per week to 14 for both men and women (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-35255384>, accessed 10/01/2016).

This act of levelling the recommended limit to the lower quantity demonstrates continuity of the problematisation of drinking alcohol. It should be noted that the advice given on units of alcohol consumption has varied since it came into use in the

UK in 1979, and quantity of alcohol defined as a unit varies between countries (Yeomans, 2013a: pp60 – 61). The role of social constructs of alcohol as a problem therefore shape expert advice, as Yeomans notes:

Addressing the international variation in advice on safe levels of drinking, the report stated that ‘national guidelines can reflect social objectives and cultural differences as well as scientific evidence, and therefore we do not consider that international comparisons should be relied on as an indicator of how appropriate the UK guidelines are’ (Science and Technology Committee, 2012). The precise nature of these social objectives and cultural differences is not discussed, although it is implied that the slightly lower than average units guidance in the UK is justified by the particular social problems drink causes in the UK (Yeomans, 2013: pp 67-68).

Primarily, the evidence base demonstrates that:

Research has shown that even after controlling for weight differences, equivalent quantities of alcohol produce higher peak blood alcohol levels (BALs) in women than in men. This gender effect on BAL suggests that, on average, women may experience similar behavioural impairment to men although consuming fewer drinks (Graham et al, 1998: 1138).

The explanations for this finding are variously described as differences in body water, that women have less body water for distributing alcohol, thus possibly accounting for the higher BAL of women than men after consuming the same quantity of alcohol, and less effective metabolism of alcohol in the stomach due to the impact of female sex hormones on metabolising enzymes (Graham et al, 1998: 1140). Other explanations such as “Ethanol metabolism, gender differences in pharmacokinetics of alcoholism and gender-related effect of alcoholism on brain volumes” (Holmila and Raitasalo, 2005: 1764) have been suggested.

The evidence base for these explanations is as yet unverified by biologists, as it is recognised that non-biological factors of drinking practices may be impacting upon measurements of biological gender differences (Wilsnack and Wilsnack, 2002: 246). However, this was enough to sustain gender differentiated advice on the safe levels of alcohol consumption for twenty years. An implication of offering gender

differentiated health advice was to reinforce negative discourses that drinking poses a greater threat to women than to men.

It is relevant to note here that notions of biological gender are not ‘free’ from the social construction of gender. Peterson (1998) in his analysis of the descriptions of male and female genitalia in *Gray’s Anatomy*, the medical textbook from the 19th century to the present, argues: “Anatomy texts are seen as authoritative sources for medical students and medical experts on the make-up and workings of ‘the body’, presenting the established ‘facts’ in dispassionate form. They construct simplified and universalized models of sexed bodies, abstracted from cultural and historical contexts” (Peterson, 1998: 3). The gendered construction of female anatomy as less efficient or powerful than male anatomy is reflected in the construction of the efficiency of processing alcohol in the gendered body.

2.2.1 Challenges of recording drinking data

Normative feminine drinking practices are subject to variance across different cultures; however, the almost universal element is that women’s drinking is moderate – that women drink fewer drinks, consume them at a slower rate, tend towards wine drinking over beers or spirits, and are more likely to consume alcohol with food than unaccompanied by food (Wilsnack and Wilsnack, 2002: 246). These factors are all recognised as limiting some of the negative effects of alcohol on the body (Graham et al, 1998: 1143).

Empirical studies have drawn attention to the complexities of measuring drinking practices which make it difficult to verify if women are actually drinking within nationally established limits. For example, observation of drinking practices have shown that women are more likely to engage in drinking in private homes than in public drinking venues (Holloway et al, 2009: 824). There has been a long standing association between respectability and alcohol consumption in the home (Harrison, 1994: 46; Day et al, 2004:167) which will continue to act as a barrier to ‘knowing’ how women drink. Consuming drinks in a public drinking venue is easier to quantify because drinks such as wine and spirits are served in standard measures, an unusual

practice in private homes. This may result in women under-reporting the quantity of alcohol consumed in a single occasion.

The role of awareness of gendered drinking norms, and of 'safe drinking' health advice may influence what is reported in research activities (Goddard, 2001: 5). A strong awareness of the expectations of normative feminine drinking practice is likely to result in female participants reporting moderate drinking behaviour to researchers, thus reinforcing ideas about gendered drinking practice. It is important to note that norms of feminine drinking are not experienced to the same extent for all women. Awareness of health advice, perceptions of age and social class appropriate behaviour may shape the extent to which normative feminine drinking is practiced or reported in research activity. The use of data on women's drinking has been used to argue for new, troublesome patterns of consumption. One central concern was the emergence of the binge drinker. Binge drinking is defined as a woman consuming 9 or more units of alcohol in a single drinking session (Blackman et al, 2015: pp46 – 47).

2.2.2 The emergence of the 'binge drinker'

Binge drinking has been widely used in the popular press since 2004 (Nicholls, 2009: 233) and whilst "Binge drinking was a fuzzy concept...it allowed for alarming figures to be presented in a language which conveyed the sense of an impending disaster" (Nicholls, 2009: 234). Binge drinking is identified as widespread practice for many young people who participate in drinking in the Night Time Economy (NTE). Sessional consumption is a concept used to highlight how alcohol is consumed in the culture of intoxication:

We cannot understand developments in alcohol use without an attendant appreciation of changes in attitudes and behaviour relating to illicit drugs. The normalisation of recreational drug use reflected the development of new psychoactive consumption styles evidenced a new willingness to experiment with and experience altered states of intoxication as a part of leisure 'time out'. Alcohol consumption has been integrated into this style so that drink and drug use intertwine and celebrate cultures of hedonistic consumption (Measham and Brain, 2005: 266 – 267).

This view has been reinforced by Nicholls (2009: 223) among others.

As part of sessional consumption drinking styles, the practice of ‘determined drunkenness’ is usual among participants in the culture of intoxication. In studies conducted in Manchester, Measham and Brain describe that “the majority of respondents conceived of their nights out in terms of planning not just to go out drinking but to get drunk.” (Measham and Brain, 2005: 273). This finding was reaffirmed by Measham et al (2011:16) in an ethnographic study of pre-loading (consuming alcohol in a private residence prior to going out to public bars) in smaller towns in Lancashire. The resilience of this style of drinking is identified as a significant change in the patterns of alcohol consumption in the UK.

2.2.3 Explaining the ‘increase’ in women’s drinking

It must be noted that current data appears to point to a recent decline in women’s drinking, as identified in figures from the General Lifestyle Survey indicate that women’s average weekly consumption decreased from 9.4 units in 2005, to 7.6 units in 2010 (Institute for Alcohol Studies, 2013: 4). This is reinforced by Measham and Ostergaard (2009) who argued that young women’s drinking peaked in the years following the Millennium. In spite of this recognised decrease, the heavy sessional drinking practices of young women are still regarded as problematic (Mackiewicz, 2015: 66) and have drawn significant attention in government alcohol strategies (Blackman et al, 2015: 47).

In spite of the challenges to gaining valid data on women’s drinking, the indications of the persistence in the gender gap in alcohol consumption (HSCIC, 2014: 9) and the data showing decreasing alcohol consumption among women, a persistent narrative has emerged to describe changes to women’s drinking in the past 25 years. This is widely discussed as ‘convergence theory’ – that women’s drinking is becoming, both in quantities consumed, and in the drinking behaviours practiced, closer to male drinking styles.

2.2.4 Convergence theory

The idea that drinking practices are converging particularly among young female drinkers (Measham and Ostergaard, 2009: 415; Griffin, 2009: 460; Holmila and Raitasalo, 2005: 1765) has led to discussions of ‘ladette’ drinking cultures and women ‘drinking like men’ (Measham and Ostergaard, 2009: 417).

The term ‘ladette’ was used to denote the behaviour of women which was perceived as emulating traditional masculine behaviours. Measham and Ostergaard (2009) described how this derisive term became linked with the culture of intoxication: “The public face of binge drinking – the so-called ‘British disease’ – and a staple of early 21st century tabloid newspapers, became the young woman emulating male consumption patterns, the ‘work hard play hard’ female equivalent of the lad, the so-called ‘ladette’, with clothes askew stumbling around the city centre streets at night, the ‘doubly deviant’ figure of drunkenness in a dress.” (Measham and Ostergaard, 2009: 417).

The discourse of the ladette is both gendered and classed, and is usually applied to the white, working class, heterosexual young women (Griffin et al, 2009: 459) who are now identified as being the main participants in hypersexual practices in the culture of intoxication. In an analysis of print media, Day et al (2004) analyse the discursive construction of the ‘ladette’ in articles concerning women drinking. They argue:

The implication here appears to be that women are competing with *men at their own game*, male consumption levels being constructed here as the norm, an unquestioned benchmark against which female consumption levels are (unfavourably) judged and evaluated. What we appear to have here is a construction of such femininities as representing some form of *fake* or *inferior* masculinity, which is reminiscent of Freudian constructions of femininity as stunted or inadequate (Day et al, 2004: 171).

The impact of discourses of the ladette has been to reinforce the emphasis young drinking women must place on respectability in their own feminine drinking practices. Processes of distancing oneself or othering women whose drinking practices were derided as ‘ladette-ish’ was identified in several empirical studies. In Rudolfsdottir

and Morgan's (2009) study, they described how "In the interviews so called 'chavvy' girls or 'ladettes' were singled out for overdoing it drinkwise and being uncouth and unfeminine in their behaviour." (Rudolfsdottir and Morgan, 2009: 500). One of Griffin et al (2013) middle-class participants drew upon these discourses as "Caz's explicit claim to feminine respectability ('I'm a lady') distances her from the possibility of being 'mistaken' for one of those 'other' women." (Griffin et al, 2013: 12). Interestingly, Mackiewicz's (2012) working-class participants drew upon the same discursive practice: "to avoid being judged as unrespectable or ladette-ish, or being implicated as a 'chav' and/or 'slut'; all denigrating labels." (Mackiewicz, 2012: 237). The continuing influence of the discourse of the ladette is on how women construct their drinking practices as those of a lady, being respectable and normatively feminine.

Evidence of gendered drinking practices within the pursuit of determined drunkenness for young female drinkers is seen in the ethnographic research presented by Blackman et al (2015). One instance is a group drinking game, popularly known as 'pub golf'. The mixed gender group observed by the researcher were all participating in the same activities, however clear markers of gender differentiation were identified:

Initially, it could be argued that pub golf supports the notion of a 'convergence' as all participants are expected to follow similar *patterns* by consuming the same alcoholic product within the same predefined parameters of volume and time. But from the outset, a distinction between young men and women's drinking *styles* emerges... as the female participants become incidental to the competition between the men at the point of consumption, it becomes apparent that aspects of gender difference within the 'ethics of fun' emphasise a rejection of convergence; towards distinctly gendered forms of 'calculation'. (Blackman et al, 2015: 52).

They go on to argue that aspects of calculated hedonism are apparent in the gendered drinking styles, that the pursuit of intoxication for the female drinkers demonstrates a focus on maintaining control, and later, limiting consumption in the pursuit of maintaining stripper chic glamour appearances (p.54). Stripper chic glamour is described as apparel including high heels and revealing clothes, worn with bouffant

hairstyles, make up and fake tan. This evidence points to the performance of distinctively gendered drinking styles, within the culture of intoxication.

The discursive power of transgressive female drinking practice has maintained the validity of claims about convergence of drinking between genders, as gender equality in drinking means women are drinking more ‘like men’ (Day et al, 2004: 171) despite the recognition that women who drink are actively engaged in constructing their drinking practices as respectably feminine.

The problematisation of women’s drinking has much longer historical roots than since the redevelopment of drinking venues in the 1990s (Nicholls, 2009: 237). Warner (1997) points to the emergence of temperance as a feminine virtue in the 16th Century, prior to which evidence shows women’s drinking presented with humour and demonstrations of social acceptance. In section 2.5, I will explore the factors which have been identified as explanations of the social problem of women’s drinking in the 19th century.

2.3 What is known about the social problem of women drinking?

Concurrent with the emergence of new drinking styles from the 1990s, the literature points to the redevelopment of public drinking venues as significantly impacting upon women’s drinking practices in contemporary Britain. In the drinking landscape, trends in gender performativity have been identified by researchers, which are explored as prominent features of young women’s drinking practices.

2.3.1 New drinking landscapes

The physical landscape is identified by social geographers such as Jayne (2006, 2011) and Leyshon (2008) as intrinsic to the formation of drinking cultures. The notion of the ‘drinking landscape’ has been prominent in the analysis of the emergence of a new culture of drinking from the 1990s onwards in Britain (Nicholls, 2009; Measham and Brian, 2005: 265; Bellis and Hughes, 2011: 537).

Following the Supply of Beer (Tied Estate) Order 1989, a government enforced sell-off of pubs owned directly by large breweries took place. The consequence was that these pubs were purchased by retail companies, establishing branded ‘chains’ of pubs and bars, often referred to as “Pubcos” (Nicholls, 2009: 219). As part of wider urban regeneration projects, the transformation of traditional style pubs into ‘female-friendly’ bars (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Hollands, 1995; Brown, 1998) is argued to be a key driver of increased participation of women, especially young women, going out drinking.

This change in the extent of female participation in the Night Time Economy (NTE) has been conceptualised as a “genderquake” (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003: 148) in which “young women in particular have begun to traverse the ‘divided city’ from the more private spaces of the home (bedroom culture), community and neighbourhood, to occupy the public spaces of the street, the bar and the club.” (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003: 151). Chatterton and Hollands have described at length the differences in gendered practice in the NTE, and have noted some interesting facets shaping gendered practice. In the first instance, they noted “the argument that modern urban playscapes are more female-friendly generally means that they are targeting women as potential consumers, rather than attempting to transform traditional gender relations.” (2002: 112).

However, these authors have also identified that the practices of participation in the NTE for young women has often been constructed through historically informed norms of femininity associated with domestic activity, heterosexual romance and feminized bodily practice (Hollands, 1995: 86). Whilst the authors have identified the complexity of gendered experiences in the NTE, their interpretation of women’s drinking practices has demonstrated a gender theory which assumes some behaviours are inherently gendered: “rather than challenging male domination of mainstream nightlife spaces by creating alternative female cultures, young women appear to be simply competing on men’s terms through a crude ‘equality’ paradigm” (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003: 155).

The authors assume that, due to expectations of feminine identity and practice, it follows that women should not want to engage in existing NTE drinking cultures.

These assumptions reflect the discourse of the ladette, in which women's drinking in the NTE is discursively constructed as mimicking male practices, and is critiqued as a social problem associated with women's drinking.

2.3.2 The culture of intoxication and the challenge of femininity

The term 'culture of intoxication' has been used to describe a wide-scale prevalence of drinking alcohol with the purpose of becoming drunk, taking place in urban drinking venues, with the chief participants being men and women age 18 – 35 years (Measham and Brain, 2005: 268). This term has been used by Measham to account for the findings of her ethnographic research, much of which takes place in the North West of England. The culture of intoxication is an overarching term for different concepts which are applied to drinking practices of young people, including binge drinking, sessional consumption, determined drunkenness and for women specifically, controlled intoxication.

There has been considerable interest on how young women perform gendered drinking in the culture of intoxication, specifically on the idea of controlled intoxication (Sheard, 2011: 262; de Visser et al, 2012:18) and the bodily practices of the NTE (Griffin et al 2012: 12.; Mackiewicz, 2012: 245).

2.3.3 Hypersexuality

Hypersexuality, or hyper-sexual femininity, is described by Griffin et al (2012) as a cultural form which "calls on young women to look and act as agentically sexy within a pornified night time economy...but to somehow distance themselves from the troubling figure of the 'drunken slut'" (Griffin et al, 2012: 4). The bodily style is described as "characterised by high heels, short skirts, low cut tops, fake tan, long, straight and (bottle) blonde hair, smooth bare legs in all climates, lots of make-up and a buxom slimness" (Griffin et al, 2012: 3).

As noted above, for Mackiewicz (2012) hypersexual dress styles in the culture of intoxication are a required practice for participation. She describes how "drinking while getting dressed facilitates not just the social dynamics but creates confidence to

dare to participate in hypersexual femininity.” (Mackiewicz, 2012: 241). The lack of agency of these female drinkers in the performance of hypersexual femininity is present in this analysis. A more nuanced interpretation is presented by Doherty (2013) in her ethnographic research on the night time economy. Doherty argues that “Women express agency through deliberately visible hyper-sexualised feminine styles” (Doherty, ‘Stripper-chic nights’ conference paper 2013), citing several accounts in which the women participating in her study have expressed pleasure in the act of choosing outfits and dressing up. The act of dressing up to go out is as much about engaging in activities associated with leisure and fun, not going to work. The thoughts and acts of dressing up are experienced as pleasurable because they are not every-day, mundane activities. Choosing outfits for some of the participants involved research and perseverance, thus resulting in a feeling of achievement and pleasure in the act of dressing up.

However, this new research does not deny that hypersexual femininity is a challenging cultural practice for young women. The challenge to ‘get it right’ – appear sexy but not slutty – a theme present in research by Griffin et al (2012), Mackiewicz (2012) is one of the double standards experienced by young women in the culture of intoxication.

2.3.4 The challenge of respectability in the culture of intoxication

The culture of intoxication is one containing contradictory double standards which must be negotiated by young women who participate in the NTE. The two main issues are based upon hypersexual style/behaviour, and achieving the ‘correct’ level of drunkenness.

De Visser et al (2012) explored the gender norms underpinning double standards associated with drinking practices. It is noted that “the persistence of gender stereotypes for drinking and drunkenness is notable given that there was no significant sex differences in drinking” (de Visser et al, 2012: 17). Gender norms are strongly influential in the discourses of drinking practices, particularly that “drunkenness was incompatible with traditionally feminine respectability, and that comparative levels of drunkenness in men and women were evaluated differently, with greater scorn of

public drunkenness in women” (de Visser et al, 2012: 18). This finding was reinforced in Griffin et al (2009) in their analysis of middle-class young women’s drinking narratives: “These young white middle class women distanced themselves from the potentially risky and humiliating loss of (self) control associated with drinking to excess in different ways, and were therefore able to position themselves as respectable and responsible female subjects of moral worth” (Griffin et al, 2009: 465). By discursively constructing the gendered drinking self as normatively feminine, the young women included in these research studies are demonstrating the need to present a respectable self when engaged in ultimately transgressive drinking practices.

Mackiewicz’s (2012) findings demonstrate how the double standards are experienced by a group of young women. The double standards applied in clothing styles is presented as a particular battle, as “they must both dress like respectable ladies and be sexy and sassy, two incompatible requirements, that lead to a range of discursive strategies including labelling other women as getting it wrong or being too sexual” (Mackiewicz, 2012: 246). The participants in this study also discussed how they sought to maintain normative femininity through controlled excessive drinking so as to appear ‘up for it’ without becoming too drunk, “they must drink excessively to socialise, but they must also remain respectable by not looking drunk; this creates the dilemma, or contradiction, of needing to be ‘soberly drunk’” (Mackiewicz, 2012: 245).

The difficulties encountered for young women participating in the culture of intoxication have shown how discourses of respectability and shame are shaping drinking behaviour, with discussions of careful monitoring of dress styles, drinking practice and behaviour in the NTE to present a respectable feminine self. However, it is noted that the drinking styles of the culture of intoxication are significantly transgressing nationally established ‘safe drinking’ levels. In the culture of intoxication, as discussed in section 2.3.2, the norm of drinking behaviour is to drink to intoxication. Participants are discursively constructing a normatively feminine self whilst engaging in excessive alcohol consumption.

A final comment on the topic of double standards in the culture of intoxication comes from Griffin et al (2009) who note that young women “do manage to inhabit this impossible space in which pleasure and danger are locked in a dangerous and alluring

embrace.” (Griffin et al, 2009: 15). The performance of femininity in the culture of intoxication is fraught with challenges of getting style and alcohol consumption ‘right’, however young women are transgressing gender norms through drinking practices, and gain pleasure from participating in hypersexual styles.

In section 2.7, I will review the main points raised in the consideration of the existing body of knowledge on why women’s drinking is identified as a social problem in the contemporary period. It is evident at this stage that the place of female sexuality and consumption rates are the factors which dominate the literature examined here. Next, I will examine what is known about women’s drinking in the mid 19th century.

2.4 *What do we know about women’s drinking in mid 19th century?*

Insights into women’s drinking are limited in this time period. Often the only occasion when female drinker’s voices are heard is to recount their story of shame and reformation from signing the Temperance pledge. Studies by Berridge (2004) Zedner (1994) and Barton (2017) have explored the history of female inebriate reformatories in the late 19th century. These reformatories were founded in an attempt to stop the recidivism of women who drank alcohol, a factor which was considered as the primary cause of their reoffending. Berridge (2004:5) notes that the purpose of the reformatories was threefold: reform, rehabilitation and punishment. It is also noted that the powers to detain drinkers, under the Inebriates Act 1898, were disproportionately applied to women, with the powers being implemented in response to prosecutions for child neglect and cruelty (p.4). Barton (2017) argues that the reformatory movement acted as a ‘semi-penal’ institution, which is neither prison nor domestic space, but seeks to shape female conduct to fall in line with what was defined as ‘normal’ feminine conduct. In these places, women are conceptualised as incapable of self-governance, due to their ‘infantile character’. Thus they were ideal candidates for the techniques of moral regulation used in reformatories.

Zedner’s (1994) examination of the female inebriate reformatories explores the experiences of the women detained, noting how the regime used techniques emulating domesticity, and care of feminine appearance to reform the female drinker (p.242). Barton (2017) argues that the model of moral reform used in the semi-penal

reformatory sought to reproduce elements of domestic social control, such as though the matron figure – a maternal figurehead seeking to reform the conduct of inmates in a relationship akin to the mother/daughter roles. Zedner states that the concept that underpinned the regimes was that of ‘moral regulation’ that “All attention focused on the character of the female drunk as the site of reform” (1994:238). These ideas, of maternal care, feminine appearance and domesticity, fit with Victorian middle class normative femininity. This is discussed further in section 2.5.3, on the theory of separate spheres.

What these three studies tell us is that the motivation to shape women’s drinking conduct through a reformatory movement indicates a powerful discourse about women’s drinking as a social problem at the end of the 19th century in Britain. These accounts explore how gender ideology at this time impacted upon the regimes to shape feminine drinking conduct, however this tells us little of the drinking conduct of non-criminalised female drinkers.

2.4.1 The challenge of statistical data on drinking

Prior to the start of the Mass Observation experimental studies on public house drinkers in the 1930s (Gutzke, 2014: 24) statistical measurement of the prevalence of women’s drinking was not carried out in a systematic way. Nevertheless, the wish to collate statistical evidence on alcohol consumption was demonstrated by members of the London Statistical Society from the early 19th century (Kneale, 2001: 48), particularly one member, the Reverend John Clay, Chaplain at Preston House of Correction 1823 – 1858. Clay began recording data on convicts’ lives from 1824, making presentations to the London Statistical Society from 1838.

Clay, whilst not a committed adherent to the teetotal temperance principle (Clay, W.L. 1861: 494) demonstrated lifelong concern about the role of public drinking venues, and intoxication, in the committal of offences. However, this data only presents an insight into one type of women drinking in mid 19th century England, the female offender. This tells us little about what women were drinking, where, and when. There is no way of finding an ‘authentic voice’ of a female drinker in mid-19th century England. However, by researching accounts of the drinking landscape,

alcohol policy, and alcohol regulation, insights into women's drinking can be obtained.

2.4.2 *Changes in the drinking landscape*

The legacy of the gin pandemic and a desperate push to gain popular support by the then Tory government resulted in the Beer Act 1830. This act sought to reduce the monopolising influence of breweries and remove the extent of influence of local magistrates from controlling the provision of outlets selling beer (Nicholls, 2009: 91).

The consequences of the Beer Act were significant, as the number of 'beer shops' grew rapidly, with "24,000 beer shops opened within a year of the act becoming law" (Nicholls, 2009: 92). In the industrialising north, particularly the mill towns of south Lancashire, social reformers quickly acted to point out the social harms resulting from beer consumption, which were not unlike the social harms associated with spirit drinking. Mason (2001) argues that "much of the Victorian discourse on working class drunkenness repeats a narrative in which the Act of 1830 almost instantly placed a beer house in every neighbourhood, thus exposing the poor to temptations they were too weak to resist." (Mason, 2001: 115). Whilst this analysis overlooks the pre-industrial associations with the rural labouring classes prolific drinking on festival days, Mason draws attention to the urban social problems caused by working class drinking, a narrative which is frequently re-used, albeit with different types of drink in mind.

The new drinking landscape, particularly the beer shop, was argued to be pertinent to growing concerns about women drinkers, especially working class women in the industrialising towns. Writing on the topic of women drinking in public from the 1890s, Gutzke (2014) argues, "Unconcerned about or perhaps contemptuous of claims of respectability, impoverished women in slums certainly visited beerhouses, less often pubs, in greater numbers than other females. Whether they thought themselves respectable was not the issue; visiting pubs and beerhouses carried a social stigma antithetical to their recognition as such individuals outside their own neighbourhoods." (pp. 19 – 20). Whilst the analysis of Gutzke echoes some of the problems of Chatterton and Hollands (2003) approach to gender, that women drinking

out in public who do not meet the prevailing expectations of respectable normative femininity are rejecting femininity outright (see section 2.3.1) Gutzke draws attention to the diversity in approaches to drinking in public for women, particularly those taken by working class women in the 19th century.

Contemporary sources certainly point to the presence of women in beer houses in the 1830s, and the prevalence of drunkenness of both men and women in these venues. One such example is a report, featured in the Temperance newspaper ‘The Moral Reformer’ based on an ethnographic observation of Preston town over a weekend: “At half past twelve, six women were drinking in one dram shop; and at three minutes to one o’clock, sixteen persons, including five women, came out of one public house, most of them in a state of intoxication!” (The Moral Reformer, 1838: 62). The same report states that the observer estimates that 1,000 persons were intoxicated in Preston on the Saturday night they observed the drinking venues of the town. Whilst the validity of the assertions made is uncertain, there is a recognition that women were drinking in beer shops (also known as dram shops and jerry houses) in the mid 19th century.

Certainly, temperance reformers understood women’s drinking to be a particular problem. It is noted by Gutzke (2014) that wage earning women, especially among the working classes, were experiencing freedom to visit pubs in the later decades of the 19th century (p. 20). This is reflected in contemporary sources (The Moral Reformer, 1838: 67) and demonstrates one of the factors of how women’s drinking was identified as a social problem.

2.5.4 Women’s drinking at the turn of the 20th century

The place for women drinking in public drinking venues is the focus of a study by Gutzke (2014) in which changes in the drinking landscape from the 1890s onwards forms the primary focus for analysis. Gutzke argues that the development of women’s drinking culture evolved from the emergence of respectable drinking spaces in the last decade of the 19th century. The construction of ‘respectability’ is pertinent to understanding how their drinking cultures developed through the first half of the 20th century. Of equal importance is the concept of disorder (Douglas, 1966) in

exploring the problematisation of women's drinking in this period. The link between prostitution and pubs put the reputation of any woman who drank in a pub at risk, their very presence threatening disorder, particularly so in Liverpool in the first decade of the 20th century, when local authorities instituted restrictions on women in pubs to impact on the prevalence of prostitution in the city (Beckingham, 2012).

In an interesting mimicry of 'separate spheres' shaping women's lives, Gutzke argues that respectable women were using "Jug and Bottle" departments to purchase alcohol to drink in the home,

"Here, ladies of the neighbourhood could gather and socialize freely, drinking alcohol privately without challenging men's presence elsewhere on the licensed premises. Patronage of ladies, better-class districts and a flourishing jug and bottle compartment – these became hallmarks of such establishments. Privacy still remained a concern, so publicans placed counter screens in this bar, its heyday apparently over by the late 1880s." (p. 17).

The separation of male and female drinking spaces in lower class neighbourhoods was less distinct, which Gutzke argues was due to the lack of restraint on women to perform middle class respectable feminine behaviour. In such neighbourhoods,

"Depending on the area, women might drink outside licensed premises on pavements, alleyways, yards, streets, or the outdoor (bottle and jug) departments, areas which males avoided. Inside pubs, such women might escape male supervision entirely, but just on Monday mornings when they drank with other females after retrieving goods pawned in the previous week." (p. 19)

Gutzke's analysis of these drinking practices overlooks the extent to which separate spheres appear to impact on women's drinking practices in working class neighbourhoods. The argument presented is that women were seeking to drink, without male supervision, to preserve the separation of male (public) leisure from female (private) leisure. By undertaking such practices, women were seeking to maintain gender norms of respectability, albeit in an 'intermediate' space. Gutzke's inattention to the practices of working class women to maintain respectability through the creation of intermediate drinking spheres draws attention to the multiple ways in

which ‘respectability’ is attained by women occupying different social class, age and cultural positions. By assuming that the only form of respectability shaping women’s drinking culture is that of middle class women, Gutzke has misunderstood the complexity of ‘being respectable’ when women drink. The analysis of contemporary women’s drinking by Griffin et al (2009) and Mackiewicz (2012), as discussed earlier, points to the ways in which young women who get drunk and dress hypersexually seek to maintain respectability through controlled intoxication and maintenance of appearance, which was further emphasised by Blackman et al (2015; 54).

The arguments presented in Gutzke’s history of women’s drinking cultures in the 20th century places emphasis on the development of the interior landscape of the public house, from the start of the lounge, to the introduction of toilet facilities, widening the provision of drinks, particularly in the sale of wines, as the factors shaping women’s drinking in public spaces in the 20th century. Whilst restaurants are overlooked, the study does demonstrate how the changes to the drinking landscape evolved towards the apparently revolutionary changes in the establishment of the Night Time Economy in the 1990s.

In addition to analysing the changes in the drinking landscape on the development of women’s drinking cultures in the 20th century, Gutzke argues that women’s drinking was subject to periodic moral panics (p. 241). In his analysis, the first occasion of public concern over women’s drinking was in 1899 (p.241) when the folk devil was the drinking mother. In later moral panics during the wartime and interwar periods, the folk devil was the young, economically active, drinking woman. The final moral panic occurred with the rise in youth binge drinking culture in the 1990s. This analysis over simplifies the ways in which women’s drinking has been constructed as a social problem. The literature analysed in this chapter has shown that the knowledge on women’s lived experience of drinking is far more complex, subject to multiple regulatory discourses, and this concern, far from being an intermittent social issue, has long standing historical roots in the construction of gender values, which continue to shape the construction of women’s drinking as a social problem. This social problem is perennial, not intermittent, as application of moral panic theory would suggest.

2.5 *Explanations for why women's drinking was a social problem in the 19th century*

2.5.1 *Industrialisation, pubs and sex*

The interrelationship between industrialisation, urban growth and work-related time discipline created a new set of fears regarding the threat of drinking among the working class (Smith, 1983: 370). Pre-industrial leisure cultures, particularly in communities where economic activity was in small units, such as households engaged in hand loom weaving, did not conform to work/leisure time dichotomies. This is particularly visible in the practice of 'Saint Monday' – taking additional leisure time when high incomes from piece work enabled workers to gain required income from fewer days work (Dingle, 1972: 617) – with Mondays primarily spent in the ale house (Reid, 1976: 79). The national prevalence of Saint Monday, a tradition of working patterns from the 17th century in England, made it a target for moral reformers, including temperance reformers, in the early 19th century (Thompson, 1967: 76). As working patterns required greater synchronisation of labour, the unreliability of workers presented a considerable challenge to mill owners.

Rapid urban growth, particularly in the cotton factory towns of the North West of England, saw huge numbers of migrants from the countryside arrive in the first half of the 19th century. Many of these migrants had previously been occupied in piece-work (Pooley and D'Cruze, 1994: 343) and had experience of a leisure-drinking culture which was based around the alehouse (Smith, 1983: 368). Urban beer shops and pubs offered a space in which pre-industrial leisure cultures found a space for continuity, for playing games, dancing, music and drinking. These forms of leisure activity were a direct challenge to respectable, rational recreation (Bailey, 1987: 47), offering opportunities for the working classes to interact outside the surveillance of employers (Smith, 1983: 370).

One of the most significant aspects of urban population growth in cotton mill towns was the large numbers of single women who were employed in cotton factories. Changes in female employment patterns in the 19th century were not consistent

throughout Britain, where most women in employment worked in domestic service.

However, this was not the case in towns in the North West of England:

“In Stockport and Preston, cities born with industrialisation, most of the labour force was in textile manufacture... In addition to children, young women formed the bulk of factory workers. In Stockport nearly half of all cotton workers (age ten to sixty-nine) were female in 1851. More than 40 percent of all workers under thirty were female, while females accounted for 20 percent of all workers in their twenties.

In contrast to the female workforce of York, there were barely any domestic servants in the textile towns. Only 3 percent of the population over age fifteen in Preston in 1851 were servants and apprentices. Young women in mill towns were most often mill girls.” (Tilly and Wallach Scott, 1987: 83).

The presence of multitudes of young, single women working in factories was viewed as troublesome to observers at the time. As one commentator wrote in *The Moral Reformer* (1838) “Young women are much wanted for the factories; and so long as they are under no control, have their evenings and Sundays to themselves, and can earn good wages, although they are learning nothing for after-life, they will not be fond of going to service.” (*The Moral Reformer*, No. 9, 1838: 67). The threat of young women having leisure time and money to spend presented an overt threat to middle class gender norms which located respectable women within the private sphere of the home, not the public house. The public house was at the centre of leisure participation for the mill girls, and this presented a particular challenge to middle class views on female sexuality, as Smith (1983) argues, “There is little doubt that the conditions of nineteenth century urbanism and industrialism fostered the transition of traditional values and the emergence of new ones, but particularly those relating to sexuality...Town life was gregarious and harsh and as a locus of diverse activities the public drinking house was also a centre of sexual adventure and personal freedom.” (pp. 379 – 380).

Participation in drinking in public houses and beer shops by young women provoked middle class moralists. The creation of female gender ideologies by the Victorian middle classes positioned women firmly in the home, living in a separate sphere to the masculine world of public life. Ideologies shaping feminine conduct placed further restraints on activity for respectable women, as “The construction of ‘femininity’ had

not only a significant moral and sexual aspect (femininity as sexual passivity, timidity, purity, innocence) but a class dimension. In the reigning body symbolism of the day, a frail frame and lack of appetite signified not only the spiritual transcendence of the desires of the flesh but the *social* transcendence of the labouring, striving ‘economic’ body.” (Bordo, 2003: 117). The mill girls, working for wages, participating in drinking in public houses and beer shops, engaging in licentious flirtations and more, were particularly troublesome to moral reformers, and thus subject to the interests of Temperance reformers.

2.5.2 *Christian faith in the mid-19th century*

The role of the church in mid 19th century England was undergoing significant changes, as the 1851 religious census demonstrated (McWilliam and Boyd, 2007: 244). The census showed the significant growth in non-conformism (for example, Evangelical, Presbyterian and Methodist faiths) along with an apparently dramatic decline in church attendance among the working classes. Whilst many historians have presented this data as evidence of secularisation, revisions to this thesis were made, which emphasised how “Religion was entangled with most of the major issues of the period, including class relations, the pursuit of scientific knowledge, imperialism and women’s place in society.” (Melnyk, 2008: 1).

Non-conformism was closely tied with the Temperance movements in the mid Victorian period (Harrison, 1983: 100). The four main features of Evangelical faith were conversion, activism to convert others, devotion to the Bible, and a focus on atonement through faith (Bebbington, 2011: 3). Evangelical groups certainly took the lead in social activism in the 19th century (Melnyk, 2008: 86). Therefore, whilst church attendance may have been declining among the working classes, Evangelical Christian values continued to shape public consciousness, as Melnyk argues: “these societies represent the recognition of social problems and the determination to solve them through direct action, or through campaigns for legislation, as well as the expression of personal religious commitment. (p. 86).

Christian faith continued to influence the identification of specific social problems, such as women’s drinking, and to establish processes to impact upon and reduce the

effects these observers identified. One forum in which Evangelicals were able to act to address social problems was the teetotal Temperance movement. This will be discussed in section 2.6.1.

2.5.3 *Separate spheres*

The role of Christian values shaping ideas about femininity was significant in the mid 19th century. Developments in the position of women through the 19th century were particularly influenced by the concept of the “Separate sphere” (Davidoff and Hall, 2007: 311). Middle class social commentators came to presume that the division of the public/work sphere (masculine) from the private/domestic sphere (feminine) was a structure which enabled women to exert influence through their higher moral power (Davidoff and Hall, 2007: 311). These ideas were powerful in shaping gender ideology, positioning men and women as fundamentally suited to tasks in their separate spheres:

“Separate spheres ideology saw women as having an essentially different nature, were sensitive and more compassionate. Although men still enjoyed stronger bodies and minds, women came to be regarded as morally and spiritually superior – sexually purer, more self-sacrificing, and more spiritually acute.” (Melnyk, 2008: 123).

The separate spheres ideology not only shaped middle class women’s lives, pushing many away from public life, it emphasised how inferior working class women’s lives were. The incompatibility of middle class gender ideology with the lives of working class women in employment, particularly married women (Davidoff and Hall, 2007: 316). Ideological constructions of women as spiritually and morally superior to men clashed with the lived experiences of the economically active women. Melnyk (2008) points out that the ideology of spiritual superiority fit well with the roles ascribed to women in the separate sphere, in which themes of faith and devotion to the household dominated (p. 124). For women failing to remain in the separate sphere, there was a special impetus to ensure that whilst the practicality of working class household economies necessitated women to take up employment, the values of the feminine ideal took on greater importance. Evangelical reformers placed particular emphasis

on promoting feminine values to working class women, through the device of moral suasion.

Moral suasion is a process by which persuasive arguments are used to convince of the benefits of a particular practice. It is diametrically opposite to legal coercion.

Arguments based upon the economic, health, and welfare of the nation, as well as those motivated to prompt self-interest such as individual prosperity, were common in the moral suasion process (Martin, 2003: pp423 – 424). Moral suasion had a significant impact on women within, and outside, the temperance society. The role of working class women was to educate children on the moral horrors of drinking alcohol, and seek to emulate the comforts of the middle class home in order to prevent men from seeking more desirable surroundings, such as in the pub or beer shop. In this way, the need to socialise women into the views promoted through moral suasion was doubly important than targeting men. Abstinent women would ensure sober male workers and children who would grow up to be abstinent adults.

Moral suasion was the preferred method of promoting abstinence in the Teetotal Temperance movement. The role of women inside, and outside, the teetotal temperance campaign provides a useful insight into the gendered modes of regulation of women in mid 19th century England. This is one of the reasons why the mid 19th century is of particular interest in seeking to understand how women's drinking is subject to gendered regulations. These insights will also serve to highlight how norms and values around ideal femininity that developed in this period continue to shape current gender norms, particularly around substance (mis)use.

2.6 *Temperance*

The Temperance movement in England emerged in the latter part of the 1820s. The idea of temperance as an organised philanthropic movement began at the turn of the 19th Century in the USA (Harrison, 1994: 97). In the United Kingdom, the argument for abstinence from various forms of alcohol had been present in political and religious life for a significantly longer period, and attempts to curb 'problem drinkers' emerged in religious and political campaigns from the 16th Century (Nicholls, 2009:

5). However it was in the 1820s that a sustained, organised and collective response to ‘the drink question’ emerged in England (Harrison, 1994: 87 – 88).

2.6.1 Teetotal temperance

The origins of the teetotal temperance movement differ from those of the anti-spirits movement of the 1820s, through differences in geographic location, social class of the prominent members, methods of seeking to regulate drinking and explicit aims of the movement.

The teetotal temperance movement emerged through a group of temperance advocates in Preston, Lancashire. Whilst social reformers and temperance advocates in London had witnessed the gin palaces first hand, and were consequently drawn to promoting abstinence from spirits only, the social reformers in the industrialising towns in the north of England had not witnessed gin as a cause of alcohol related social disorder. They had noted that policy to impact upon drinking behaviour had failed, as this colourful description cited by Winskill (1891) implies:

Inviting him in, Mr Livesey inquired how he was getting on in his temperance work? ‘Bad enough’ replied King. ‘My people are getting drunk on beer. Thou knows, Joseph, as well as I do, that Preston folk do not get drunk on spirits, and I tell thee that we shall do no good until we get our members to do without beer and all other intoxicating drink’ (Winskill, 1891: 89).

The teetotal temperance movement was formally instigated by the ‘seven men of Preston’ – a collective of petty bourgeois non conformists (Harrison 1994: 119). This change affected not only the extent of abstinence involved, but also gave rise to the practice of pledge-signing, reformed drunkards speeches, structured organisations with roles for the respectable working classes, and a reformist view of the social good which could potentially derive from total abstinence (Shiman, 1988: 21).

The advocates of teetotal temperance sought to reform drinking behaviour through the process of ‘moral suasion’ – that is, presenting an argument against drinking alcohol which asserts the immorality of drinking and drinkers. The greatest distinction between moderationists and teetotallers was the approach taken to problem drinkers:

“For the moderationist, the drunkard had failed to exert his willpower and deserved denunciation; for the teetotaler the drunkard’s will had been paralysed by alcohol,” (Harrison, 1994: 110). Moderationists assumed that the drinker was wholly liable for their drinking behaviours, therefore seeking to reform problem drinkers was not the intention of the movement. Teetotalers, influenced by non-conformist principles, believed in self improvement, thus particular attention was given to reforming problem drinkers (Harrison, 1994: 111).

Teetotalism had greater appeal than the anti-spirits movement, as it contained a clearer moral message, was not embedded in upper middle class society, was more actively promoted through non-conformist churches, and provided a range of publicly respectable roles in which the aspirational respectable working class could attain recognition (Harrison, 1994: 111; Shiman, 1988: 30). Non-conformism grew rapidly in the 19th century, and in the 1851 census of attendance at religious services, over 4.5 million were attending non-conformist services, compared to 5.3 million attending Church of England services (Chadwick, 1966: pp363 – 369).

In many ways, teetotal temperance was more actively involved in seeking to change drinking behaviours, through providing alternative, ‘rational’ recreation (Bailey, 1978: pp 6-7) enabling working class men to attain public recognition for their role in the community (Shiman, 1988: 33) and seeking to address some of the social problems associated with problem drinking, such as secondary poverty. Teetotal temperance organisations attracted widespread participation of women, due to the clear focus on challenging social issues which affected women especially (Shiman, 1988: 182).

2.6.2 Women in the temperance movement

The influence of non-conformity to the growth of teetotal temperance has been explored (Harrison, 1994: 91; Shiman, 1988: pp53 - 63). However, the role of women within the temperance movements has been largely overlooked in the major studies on Temperance. Recently, biographies of the most prominent female Temperance activists (Black, 2015) and studies on the roles women occupied within local non-

conformist organisations (Wilson, 1999) have expanded the body of knowledge on women in the Temperance movement.

The gender ideology of separate spheres, discussed in section 2.5.3, supported the view of women as the morally and spiritually superior gender. Whilst this validated the role of women within the private/domestic sphere, it also enabled women to take on greater roles within the church and affiliated reform movements (Larsen, 2004: 14). Non-conformist churches offered a range of opportunities for some women to become active within reform organisations (Melnik, 2008: 129). Wilson (1999) argued that women in non-conformist churches were able to take on official and more casual roles within the remit of church activities, as “Membership of a congregation (also) provided opportunities for service, and this was especially so for women as it helped them to find a significance and purpose beyond their own small circle. This could involve Sunday school teaching, tract distribution, visiting the poor, leading a class, or in a few cases, preaching.” (Wilson, 1999: 188). For Wilson, the church offered an “Intermediate sphere” (p. 202) between the separate spheres of public and private, in which women could gain some public recognition for their activities, albeit ones which were considered an extension of their ‘natural’ feminine roles. In a very few instances, women were able to traverse the intermediate into the public sphere, and become preachers.

This was also the case for the majority of women active in temperance organisations. Shiman (1988) describes how “their functions were what current society accepted as purely female activities: teas, bazaars, children’s work and so on. In none of the major temperance organisations did women have important policy-making roles.” (Shiman, 1988: 182). Whilst Shiman is taking a somewhat critical analytic view of the limited roles available to women in temperance organisations, this did offer them some semi-public platforms on which to participate in social activism. Shiman also goes on to note that “the majority of women were reluctant to be involved in what might be considered unladylike activities. They were by training and cultural pressure, ill equipped for an active role in public life.” (Shiman, 1988: 186). The material and discursive conditions for women in this period were significantly more limiting than in contemporary society.

Nonetheless, the history of the Temperance movement includes notable female characters such as Lady Henry Somerset, Anne Carlisle and Sarah Robinson. In her recent compilation of biographies of women affiliated with Temperance in the 19th century, Black (2015) argues, “These were women who spent time, energy, and often their own money, to help others in very practical ways. They shared a very steely resolve and a willingness to step outside the tight confines of the Victorian class structure.” (p xiii). Black does not bring together the links between the gender ideology which validated a wider role for women in faith-related roles, and the women she describes, however the ‘public sphere’ roles taken on by these women can be identified as an extension of those intermediate roles described by Shiman (1988).

Whilst this literature offers the contemporary reader some insight into the range of roles women played within temperance organisations, it serves to further silence the drinking woman in the mid 19th century. The history of drinking (and drunk) women is somewhat sparse; however there are occasional approaches to this topic in the ephemera produced by organisations seeking to reduce the problem of women’s drinking. This presents insights that help to shape our understanding of how women’s drinking was approached in the mid 19th century and in the early 21st century.

2.7 Summarising, and looking forward

The aim of this literature review was to find out what is known about women’s drinking as a social problem, in both contemporary Britain, and in the mid 19th century. The focus for the review was guided by the theoretical frameworks underpinning the study, moral regulation theory, governance and post-feminist theory. This directed the study to explore literature which could offer some insights into the discursive constructions of women and alcohol, how the existing literature could account for the pervasive sense of ‘wrongness’ of conduct in contemporary and historical discourses. Furthermore, as moral regulation theory is particularly interested in the historical formation of discourses, this review aimed to establish what links drinking women in these two time periods. The contemporary literature offered a multitude of studies, exploring how (mostly young women) take part in drinking, and associated factors such as dressing in hypersexual dress styles. There are fewer accounts of how women went out drinking in the literature on the 19th century,

however by exploring some of the dominant forces shaping conduct, Christian values and middle class gender ideology, some insights into why women's drinking was considered a social problem were identified.

2.7.1 Key themes of the review

One of the themes dominant, particularly in the literature on the period 1990 – 2017, is troublesome sexual identity and practices of young women who drink. Their drinking, and participation in gender specific practices associated with going out drinking in bars, is a social problem of women drinking. The social problem is essentially an issue of disorder (Douglas, 1966). The young women experience the problem of inhabiting contradictions of being equal participants in the Night Time Economy, whilst being subject to sexist discourses on female respectability and intoxication. Young women's sexual identity is also presented as troublesome through the discourse of the *ladette*. By transgressing ideologies of feminine respectability, women are presenting a social problem in public spaces. This is because their behaviour presents disorder in the public space, contradicting the expectations of women as respectable care givers, responsible for the safety and control of the disorder of the male other.

Consumption levels are also a factor in the social problem of women's drinking. In the contemporary literature, the drinking practices of the NTE present different terms for going out drinking with the aim of getting drunk as the prevailing norm among participants. In the mid-19th century literature, the drinking practices of women presented an affront to middle class gender ideology. All quantities of alcohol consumption, not only consumption to intoxication, are a social problem in this period.

The affront to middle class gender ideology which working class women presented by participating in public life, particularly drinking in public venues, is pertinent to the third factor identified in the body of knowledge on the social problem of women's drinking. The place of women in society is put under the spotlight when women are drinking. There is a social problem presented when women's drinking practices contravene social norms associated with gender ideology, in a given context.

2.7.2 *Future directions for research*

This literature review has noted several gaps in the existing knowledge on women and drinking both in the contemporary and mid-19th century periods. The concentration on young women drinking in the mainstream NTE has resulted in a lack of attention on how women participating in sub cultural nightlife. Nor has any ethnographic research sought to find out how women are participating and performing gendered drinking in the home or in restaurants. The knowledge gap on women's drinking in the mid-19th century period requires extensive research, to understand how these historical legacies continue to shape discursive constructions (Mason, 2001: 115).

The technologies of regulating women's drinking, particularly alcohol regulation campaigns, have been considered by de Visser et al (2012: 28). However this study raised more questions than it answered, particularly concerning the ways to present health related information to different groups of drinkers (2012: 30) and through overlooking the pleasures of drinking for participants. Thus it failed to examine in detail how different regulatory discourses shaped gendered drinking practices.

Finally, the debate presented by Gutzke (2014) on women's drinking as subject to moral panics has highlighted a gap in the knowledge on the historical continuities in the construction of women's drinking as a social problem. By analysing episodic debates around women's drinking, and positioning them within wider debates around the role of women in public life, the state of the empire, and closing gender pay gaps, there has been an oversight of the continuity in regulatory discourses shaping women's drinking behaviour. It is the intention of this study to draw attention to the historical continuities of these regulatory discourses, to highlight the perennial aspect of the construction of women's drinking as a social problem (Nicholls, 2009: 2).

Chapter 3 – Forming feminine drinking: On moral regulation

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the existing body of knowledge on how women's drinking has been understood as a social problem in the United Kingdom, during two time periods. This chapter will focus on how to explain the ways in which women's drinking is regulated. Developing a theoretical framework, a means to explaining a specific event or phenomenon will support the process of undertaking research to build upon what I found in the review of the literature. In the literature review, I identified three factors of why women's drinking is identified as a social problem. However, there are aspects of the social problem of women's drinking which are unaccounted for. By undertaking a research project, I aim to fill gaps in understanding how discourses on the social problem of women drinking are formed historically, and to learn about the processes by which women's drinking is regulated.

One of the theories applied to the study of the regulation and problematisation of alcohol in some recent studies is moral regulation theory (Critcher, 2003, 2009; Yeomans, 2014). Moral regulation theory has a long and complex genealogy, developing from Durkheim's functionalist account of moral regulation as the mode for maintaining shared values necessary for society to function harmoniously. Further developments have drawn upon theories of Marx and Foucault, taking a critical position on the values transmitted through processes of moral regulation. Yeomans (2014) has also drawn links with Elias in his analysis of alcohol regulation policy in the 19th and 20th century in Britain.

Moral regulation theory has been of interest to feminist theorists, particularly Valverde and Weir (2006) and Sangster (2014). Their applications have examined how sexuality is subject to multiple modes of regulation, including at certain points in time, legal regulations, as part of a wider project of moral regulation of women's sexuality. Nevertheless, their focus is on formal modes of regulation, which is not the subject matter of this study. Valverde and Weir (2006) argue that a general theory of moral regulation is not possible, due to the multiplicity of ways in which it can be used in exploring regulation and discourse, but they draw attention to four topics they

feel are of value to feminist researchers (p.76). The second point they argue is for greater attention to be given to the methods of moral regulation:

The social organisation of regulatory discourses and practices has often been superficially investigated. We would like to suggest that approaching the question of moral regulation from the perspective of its methods will lead to much closer descriptions of connections between regulatory discourses and the work practices through which they are formed.” (p. 78)

This appeal to focus on methods of moral regulation demonstrates how investigation of micro-practices of moral regulation, (as opposed to the study of state formation which has been traditionally the focus of moral regulation) (Corrigan and Sayer, 1985) is essential to developing knowledge on the techniques of moral regulation, particularly through discourse.

Examining how regulatory discourses, constructing gendered drinking practices, are used to shape women’s drinking practices, can be framed by moral regulation theory. However, as I will argue in this chapter, existing frameworks of moral regulation theory do not offer a route to looking closely at the processes by which individual behaviours are shaped. To overcome this issue, this theoretical review will draw upon work by Bordo (2003), a poststructuralist feminist with an interest in theorising how women’s bodies are shaped, through discourses on weight, diet, and appetite in contemporary western society.

Bordo examines many phenomena, including eating disorders, the slender body as a cultural form, and postmodern bodies. Drawing heavily on Foucault’s theories of governmentality, particularly surveillance of the self, Bordo argues that,

they have been extremely helpful both to my analysis of the contemporary disciplines of diet and exercise and to my understanding of eating disorders as arising out of and reproducing normative feminine practices of our culture, practices which train the female body in docility and obedience to cultural demands while at the same time being experienced in terms of power and control. (p. 27)

One essay contained within Bordo's body of work is of great relevance, concerning the theory of 'Hunger as Ideology'. This theoretical review will discuss this essay in detail, examining how it enables greater insight into the processes by which discourses seek to shape individual practices, in a moral regulation project.

In this chapter, the concept of modes of regulation will be presented, followed by a genealogy of moral regulation theory. The third section will discuss feminist applications of moral regulation theory, particularly in the work of Valverde and Weir (2006). The next section will examine the essay by Bordo (2003) on 'Hunger as ideology' followed by a discussion of the ways of drawing upon the theoretical position put forward in Bordo's essay can enable new developments in the application of moral regulation theory to empirical study of the techniques of moral regulation projects.

3.2 Interrelation of regulatory modes

The processes by which specific forms of conduct are regulated, in this case, women's drinking, are operating in complex ways. The forms of regulation can involve formalised approaches, such as government policies, and the law, to informal structures such as shared values among communities.

Gerritsen (2000) makes an argument for different regulatory forms to be seen as distinct but interrelated, undergoing changes in their balances as part of the process of state formation (p. 3). He presented an account of state formation and regulation of alcohol and opiates in three nation states, in which he argues that control of trafficking, consumption, and enforcement through the police, judiciary and the army represent "a mode of state coercion, a highly formal and external type of pressure." (p.3). The regulation by medical practitioners is described as a less formal, but external form of regulation, and social forms of informal regulation, such as church congregations, members of a community, present a final form of external regulation. The final form of regulation highlighted by Gerritsen is self regulation, the internalised "habits of mind" (p.3.) which shape behaviour, often unconsciously for the individual.

After providing this brief classification of types of regulatory pressures, Gerritsen argues: “These diverse forms of pressure are not unrelated, nor can they exist separately from one another. In their interrelationship, a precarious and inconstant balance can be distinguished.” (pp. 3 – 4) Mirroring comments by Critcher (2011), Gerritsen asserts that the interrelationship of forms of regulatory pressure necessitates that when one form (such as highly formalised, external pressures) are reduced, there is a greater need for informal, external pressures to exert on the individual, to enable greater self regulation.

Gerritsen’s theory of modes of regulation, of the hybrid forms of regulation in a society where intoxicants are subject to formal and informal controls, also suggests a hierarchy of forms of regulation. This mirrors a discussion of forms of regulation as a pyramid (Ayres and Barth, in Yeomans, 2014), briefly cited by Yeomans. It is evident that the corporeality of control instituted by highly formal, external modes of regulation, such as the implementation of public order offences which can lead to (often temporary) imprisonment for individuals presenting disorderly behaviour in a public place whilst drunk (http://www.cps.gov.uk/legal/p_to_r/public_order_offences/ accessed 28/08/15) have different impacts to the informal, external modes of regulation from communities (such as the use of shame).

In this study, I wish to explore how women’s drinking has been constructed as a social problem, which is viewed as necessitating regulatory intervention. The processes by which regulatory interventions act upon women who drink is not well understood. It is my intention to examine techniques for shaping women’s drinking, to understand how they operate. Some of the forms of regulatory intervention fit under the category of semi-formal modes of regulation, as put forward by Gerritsen. Whilst other moral regulation studies on alcohol have focused on formal modes of regulation, the intention of this study is to examine discourses and the techniques to shape the conduct of the individual through these discourses. The approach taken in this study identifies that organisations which operate to shape women’s drinking practices are distinctive, semi-formal regulatory formations. These formations are a part of a wider range of forms of regulation. The extent to which each set of formations of regulation impact on individuals is unknown. It is not the intention of this study to find out how regulatory modes are experienced, but to examine how

specific forms of conduct are the focus of reform, and the techniques used to shape conduct.

3.3 *Genealogy of moral regulation*

3.3.1 *Durkheim*

Moral regulation theory developed out of Durkheim's work on the study of morals. For Durkheim, the two theses underpinning his argument were that there is a reality of morals, in which "the morality to which men subscribe at each moment of history has its ideal which is embodied in the institutions, traditions and precepts which generally govern behaviour. But above and beyond this ideal, there are always others in the process of being formed. For the moral ideal is not immutable: despite the respect with which it is vested, it is alive, constantly changing and evolving." (Durkheim, 2013: 81). The second thesis was that this external reality was the subject matter for valid scientific analysis: "The notion of what life is can only come from the science of life, whose advances it takes over and digests. The idea of morality, if it is to be other than a matter of mere common sense, can only be arrived at by the scientific study of moral facts. Whatever one's conception of the moral ideal is, morality exists as an observable reality." (Durkheim, 2013: 89) In describing the ways of social functioning of morals, Durkheim refers to social structures such as religion, or the law, as 'forces'. Durkheim was clear in his assertion that these forces were not physical, but mental or moral forces (pp.79 - 80). These forces enacted upon the individual to ensure they participate 'naturally', to perform moral actions and share moral values.

3.3.2 *Corrigan*

Corrigan (1981) begins his thesis of moral regulation with a discussion of Durkheim's theories of moral reality. Corrigan discusses the role of signs as the means of moral regulation in Durkheim's theory: "through its reproduction of particular (proper, permitted, encouraged) forms of expression it fixes (or tries to fix) particular signs, genres, repertoires, codes, as normal representations of 'standard' experiences which represent human beings as far more standardly 'equal' than they in fact *can* be." (pp. 320 – 321).

Where Corrigan makes a departure from Durkheim's thesis of moral regulation, is through his challenge to the naturalist assumptions of shared norms and values. He explicitly identifies the operation of political power of the values of the elite, over the potential values of 'others' (female, black minority ethnicities, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, Asexual). For Corrigan, it is not a natural process for one set of values to be adopted and performed by all members of a society, but that there are processes of naturalising and normalising certain values and beliefs (Dean, 1994: 146). Corrigan approaches moral regulation theory from a broadly Marxist perspective, utilising moral regulation theory to draw attention to two points; the significance of history in the formation of moral regulation, and the role of moral regulation in state formation.

On the topic of the significance of history, Corrigan argues,

History is not external to 'corporeality' (the meaning and naming of the body in history) or sociability. The moral forms of expression have origins and lineages, ruptures and reconstructions, which can be *traced*...No forms of expression can be understood without their history - back to and including their originating contexts. History is, quite literally and materially, the internal texture of these forms." (p. 322).

The historical formation of the forms of expression, through which moral regulation operates, such as in the discursive construction of normative feminine drinking, is necessary to comprehend the methods of moral regulation in contemporary society. History takes on an additional significance for Corrigan, in that, "Without both a theoretical understanding of the pervasiveness of moral regulation and the historical construction of the present forms of that regulation we constantly run the danger of seeing 'anomie' or 'ascription' to be temporary phases" (p. 323). This argument relates to those presented against moral panic theory by Hunt (1999) and Critcher (2009). By theorising social events in which the dominant moral values and codes are challenged (for example, through the emergence of the ladette in drinking culture) as individual episodes, the wider historical and cultural context in which these episodes are constructed is overlooked.

The second topic in Corrigan's moral regulation theory is that of state formation. This subject was given greater attention in a longer study by Corrigan and Sayer (1985). Yeomans (2014) summarises their theory of moral regulation as a factor in state formation as: "Moral regulation thus creates a social environment amenable to the development of certain societal orders by justifying particular legal regulations and legitimising forms of political, economic and social domination." (pp. 12 – 13). The focus on state formation is diametrically opposite to the focus of this study, the discursive constructions of normative feminine drinking practices, which seek to assert drinking practices through micro practices of governmentality. However, it is worth noting that Corrigan (1981) examined how micro-practices could be examined as evidence of how the state shapes the production of the 'obvious':

State agencies play a strong definite part in establishing the range of what are proper ways of public performance;...it is not necessary for a dominant group to accomplish total belief and commitment amongst the dominated, but that the world of public evaluations and judgements should be such that rituals (including, importantly, ritualised forms of humour and challenge) confirm the correctness, truth and validity of the Obvious. (p. 327).

The role of the state in forming the norms of social behaviour is over emphasised, here, a point developed further by Dean (1994) and Ruonavaara (1997). However, Corrigan's point about practices which immediately appear to subvert norms, such as becoming drunk, are subject to discourses of performing intoxication in a feminine way, that serve to reinforce gender drinking norms, as presented in the literature on contemporary's women's drinking.

3.3.3 *Dean*

Dean (1994) takes up Corrigan's thesis on moral regulation and state formation, drawing attention to what he perceives to be problems in Corrigan's account. Dean argues that Corrigan places the state at the centre of moral formation and regulation, that the state is the agent of moral regulation, thus overlooking the processes of self-formation which take place at a distance from the state (Dean, 1994: 147).

Drawing upon Foucault's theory of governmentality, Dean argues that Corrigan's approach to moral regulation does not offer an insight into the means of the formation of the naturalised social identity (p. 147). The usefulness of governmentality is such that it offers an insight into the methods of self-formation in moral regulation projects, and draws attention to the many agencies operating in the governance of norms, values and practices (p. 160). Dean concludes that,

the mode of political subjectification in liberal-democratic states (i.e. the treatment of political subjects as if they were autonomous citizens within self-governing political communities) should be understood as (at least in part) conditioned by various practices of governmental and ethical self formation operating from a variety of locales both within and outside the state. (p. 148)

Dean also draws attention to his perceived concerns about the term 'moral', as it is used to describe "codes of evaluation" (p.154). Dean argues that in his approach to moral regulation theory, with a greater emphasis on self-formation, morals are of lesser interest than ethics. Dean argues,

The adjective, moral, remains indeterminate because it delineates no clear domain that is (even relatively) autonomous from forms of political regulation and state power. It might be suspected that the term simply continues the sociological preoccupation with the state as the agency of social control and only differs by having a more complex account of how that control occurs, (p. 155)

This dichotomy of moral/ethical raises several issues with Dean's account of moral regulation theory. Firstly, by drawing a distinction between the socially constructed codes of morals and the processes by which these codes are normalised and naturalised as the preferred forms of individual behaviour, a false dichotomy emerges. The content of the 'ethics' forming the self is shaped by the content of moral regulation. These entities are intertwined, and by applying different terminologies, a false distinction is made between the norms and values presented by a range of state and non-state agencies, and the norms and values presented by the individual. Secondly, by drawing so heavily on the theory of governmentality, it is questionable how Dean can argue that moral regulation theory is at all necessary to explain self formation. By his own argument, the concept of governmentality is sufficient in itself to theorise self formation.

3.3.4 *Ruonavaara*

Ruonavaara (1997) argues that Dean's critiques of Corrigan and Sayer's conceptualisation of moral regulation theory do not fundamentally undermine the theory. Furthermore, Ruonavaara argues that moral regulation is more easily understandable than governmentality, leading him to reject Dean's use of ethical self formation and governmentality in his approach to moral regulation theory (Ruonavaara, 1997: 283).

The focus chosen by Ruonavaara is on non-state actors, looking at them as moral regulators, attempting to regulate "ways of life" (p. 286). This formulation of moral regulation theory presents three points of difference from Corrigan and Sayer's approach, that moral regulation "should not be seen as monolithic and unitary" (p. 284); that it should not be considered as "only and activity by and for the state" (p. 285) and that it "should not be seen only as activity by the ruling elite" (p. 285). Ruonavaara is arguing for a social action focused moral regulation theory which explores how, through means such as persuasion, education and enlightenment, moral regulators, who are often non-state actors, seek to change the identity and practices of the regulated (p. 277).

3.3.5 *Hunt, Critcher and Yeomans*

Empirical studies which have explored some of these approaches to moral regulation theory have been undertaken by Hunt (1999), Critcher (2003; 2011) and Yeomans (2014). Their common factor is that they all undertake historical sociological studies of phenomena which can be approached from the theoretical standpoint of moral regulation.

Building upon Dean's focus on governmentality and Ruonavaara's social action approach to the theory, Hunt asserts that moral regulation is a relational process, in which "some generalised sense of the wrongness of some conduct, habit or disposition." (Hunt, 1999; 8) occurs. He argues, "The merit of this approach is that it focuses attention on the relational aspects of governing. The relative positions and resources of participants influence the likelihood of success or failure of the various

projects in play,” (p.6). Hunt’s relational process approach to moral regulation theory presents an approach “in which moral discourses, techniques and practices make up the primary field of contestation.” (p.8). Through identifying the importance of techniques in the processes of moral regulation, Hunt draws attention to “dividing practices” (p.8), an aspect of moral regulation processes identified by Foucault. However, this is as far as Hunt goes in exploring the techniques used in moral regulation projects. The concern of his account of moral regulation is not self-formation, other than that it is one of the methods used in projects. Hunt’s concern is “to emphasise the ways in which the self comes to be induced to act upon itself.” (p.16). The concern of this study is to examine how techniques are used in two specific yet related projects of regulation.

Hunt’s exploration of moral regulation theory is applied to a wide range of historical events, including The Vice Society, sexual purity and moral hygiene reform projects in Britain and America, particularly in the 19th century. What Hunt wishes to point out by undertaking analysis of disparate historical moral reform movements is that, “such movements are not to be understood in isolation but as part of a shifting complex of projects of governance in which the long run changes are not so much the shift from one target to another; but rather in the location of moral regulation within the field of governing others and governing selves.” (p. 9).

The historical continuity of moral regulation, as a continual process of governance of the self and others, with manifestations in reform organisations or movements, targeting some specific behaviour of ‘others’ as a problem in need of reform, is one of the central themes of more recent work on moral regulation theory.

Critcher (2003; 2011) in particular is concerned with the role of moral regulation in neo-liberal society. In a comparative examination of the gin pandemic and the early 2000s binge drinking debates, Critcher demonstrated how these episodes could be identified as upsurges in the historically longer project to reform drinking behaviour. Examining the contemporary context as a location for moral regulation projects, Critcher argues,

The compulsion towards economic deregulation seemed to be at odds with the urge towards moral regulation. But from another point of view, that is not at

all inconsistent. It is integral to a new form of governance under 'advanced liberalism' based upon the self organising capacities of natural spheres of the market, civil society, private life individual.....freedom to consume is not opposed to but dependent on the exercise of self restraint. (2011; 187)

Critcher's formation of moral regulation theory is more overtly politicised than that put forward by others, particularly Hunt (Yeomans, 2014: 15). Critcher created a classificatory system which further asserts the politicised approach to moral regulation taken in his empirical research. Critcher asserts that the five essential features of moral regulation are:

- Identifiable agents
- A specific target
- Distinctive strategies
- A common discourse
- A struggle against competing interests

(Critcher, 2011: 183).

It is the final point, the struggle against competing interests, which emphasises the differences in political power of the regulators and the regulated. Hunt also makes this assertion that the relative positions of the regulator and the regulated shape the likelihood of success of a project, however he argues that the relative positions of the regulator and regulated are more complex than who has greater or lesser power (Hunt, 1999; 6).

The multiplicity of applications and approaches of moral regulation theory could be argued to be a weakness, in that the variations in its application show it to be essentially meaningless. However, the flexibility of ways in which moral regulation can be approached and understood demonstrates the complexities of processes ongoing within moral regulation projects. Yeomans (2014) argues that there are three distinct advantages to moral regulation theory, that it focuses attention on the discursive processes of problematisation; the salience of agency within the concept; and the importance of understanding the significance of long term developments (p.19). These features are pertinent to the study of alcohol regulation, which

Yeomans undertakes. Nevertheless, the focus taken by Yeomans is on the legal regulations of alcohol consumption, an externalised and formal mode of regulation (as described by Gerritsen (2000), see section 3.2). This study will explore an informal function of moral regulation, the techniques used by moral regulation campaigns to shape drinking conduct. Therefore, a new insight into moral regulation theory is expected to emerge as a consequence of this study.

As Yeomans states, “Moral regulation is thus a diffuse and varied concept; it embodies a plethora of actors, including social movements, as well as a concern for self formation.” (p.13). The diffuseness of moral regulation is perhaps linked to the diffuseness of processes of regulation operating in any given social context. On the subject of regulation, Yeomans states that, “regulation constitutes a swathe of legal and non-legal attempts to shape people’s behaviour. Moral regulation... (is) an attempt through variable means to alter other people’s behaviour on the basis that their existing conduct is believed to be in some sense, wrong.” (Yeomans, 2014: 20). This description of moral regulation identifies all formal and informal modes of regulation as shaping conduct in a collective and meaningful way. Critcher has pointed to the necessity of self regulation in a neo-liberal society, where regulation of sale of alcohol is minimised, there is an increased need for self regulation of the drinker. However, by stating that all forms of regulation are moral regulation, there is a risk of overlooking the fractures and dissonances in regulatory forms, and to identifying the variety of impacts these forms of regulation have upon the individual drinker.

3.4 Moral regulation and governmentality

One approach to moral regulation theory which has played a part in drawing attention to the micro-practices of regulation is in the work of feminists Valverde and Weir (2006). Moral regulation theory, as a framework for describing how some practices and identities are problematised, is pertinent to feminist theorists wishing to examine how such social problems can be differentiated through the construction of the problem intertwining with dominant gender ideologies. Therefore, the construction of femininities as caregiving, self-restraining, self-monitoring entities, intertwines with drinking as a social problem, thus creating additional layers to the codes of behaviour

regulators seek to shape. Glasbeek (2006) summarises how feminist moral regulation theories are different to the main strands of moral regulation theory:

Feminist moral regulation studies also emphasise that sexuality is essential to the development of moral subjects. These studies link moral regulation to the formation and regulation of sexual subjectivities. In this view, the state is conceptualised as more than a collection of economic interests, and regulation is seen as an activity that occurs beyond the boundaries of the state. (p. 4)

In this assessment, moral regulation of a particular behaviour, such as drinking, is a contributory factor in the formation of dominant gender ideology. Glasbeek describes how a split has emerged in feminist moral regulation studies, with Sanger (2014) taking a Marxist stance on moral regulation, to highlight the oppressive practices enacted through moral regulation, and a line of enquiry influenced by governmentality, taking a poststructuralist account of the discursive formations in moral regulation projects.

The latter form of feminist moral regulation theory is presented by Valverde and Weir (2006). Drawing on the emphasis made by Corrigan (1981) on the formation of subjectivity, Valverde and Weir argue that his account of subjectivity is post-structuralist, as it understands subjectivities to be multiple and contradictory (p. 76). This draws attention to the practices of moral regulation; that it is not a totalising action of the state upon its subjects, but that it originates from multiple sites, often at a (political/economic) distance from the regulatory processes undertaken by the state.

In this article, in which Valverde and Weir articulate their position on moral regulation theory, they present “certain suggestions” (p.76) to feminist researchers on directions for further research. These are, (i) the position of moral regulation within processes of political and economic regulation in the nineteenth century, (ii) greater attention to the methods and procedures of regulation in moral regulation projects, (iii) closer examination of the extra-state regulatory agencies involved in moral regulation projects, and (iv) the experiences of those constructed as immoral subjects, requiring attention to change their identities and practices. The concern of the study undertaken here is most closely linked to the second point.

The emphasis on examining the methods of moral regulation draws attention to the breadth of subject matter for investigation. Examining the micro-practices of shaping identity, norms, values and practice will contribute new developments in moral regulation theory. Valverde and Weir do not offer a more detailed account of how to examine the methods of moral regulation; therefore it is necessary to look for existing theoretical frameworks on the techniques used in moral regulation projects to shape women's drinking practices.

Nevertheless, Valverde and Weir make several points with regard to the potential for utilising moral regulation as a theoretical framework in investigating the regulation experienced by women. They further elaborate the post-structural account of regulatory processes on women, arguing, "Women's bodies are rarely directly regulated, but are rather caught up in a complex constellation of regulatory practices which are not necessarily in harmony with one another." (Valverde and Weir, 2006: 80). This point draws attention to a factor overlooked in Gerritsen's (2000) account of the interrelatedness of regulatory formations, that regulatory discourses are not necessarily in harmonious correspondence with other regulatory forms and practices. The disjuncture between regulatory discourses is recognisable in the research by Mackiewicz (2012), Griffin et al (2012) and de Visser (2012), in which young female drinkers who participate in the culture of intoxication in the NTE express difficulties associated with maintaining hypersexual styles, being fun and remaining respectable. The discursive formations on sexuality prescribe specific behaviours as ideally, normatively feminine in the culture of intoxication, but they are recognised as difficult to attain for young drinking women.

Furthermore, Valverde and Weir argue that, "discourses which appear to address a single social relation often have other underlying meanings and effects." (2006:82). Therefore, a regulatory discourse concerning one practice/identity (such as drinking) can simultaneously seek to impact on other factors, such as reinforcing normative femininity. This idea will be explored in the following consideration of Bordo's (2003) essay 'Hunger as ideology'.

3.5 *Hunger as Ideology*

In a collection of essays, Bordo examines the construction of the female body in postmodern western cultures. With a particular emphasis on examining the culture of ‘the slender body’, Bordo makes multiple analyses of the topic of eating disorders. She argues, “eating disorders, analysed as a social formation rather than personal pathology, represented a “crystallization” of particular currents, some historical and some contemporary, within Western culture.” (2003: xxi). These currents, Bordo argues, are the need to control the body and its needs (such as hunger), through diet and exercise, whilst simultaneously existing within a consumer culture encouraging indulgence. Furthermore, “For girls and women, the tensions of consumer capitalism are layered, additionally, with the contradictions of being female in our time.” (p. xxi.) For Bordo, these contradictions are a rejection of the 1950’s maternal, fuller figure and the enacting of the economically active (slender) feminine identity. However, Bordo argues, “the steadily shrinking space permitted the female body seemed expressive of discomfort with greater female power and presence.” (p. xxi).

Bordo draws heavily upon Foucault’s theory of governmentality, in explaining how the pervasiveness of the slender body as the ideal feminine type in western culture is actively shaping the discourses of self-regulation of women’s food consumption (or abstemiousness). Bordo’s essays examine the phenomenon of the slender body from many angles, and the essay which illuminates the topic of discursive formations of the normative feminine practices of attaining/maintaining the slender body is titled ‘Hunger as ideology’.

In this essay, Bordo examines food advertisements, produced in the United States in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The explanation for this study is presented succinctly as,

More than purely profit-maximising, ideologically neutral, Madison Avenue mentality is at work in these ads. They must also be considered as gender ideology – that is, as specifically (consciously or unconsciously) servicing the cultural reproduction of gender difference and gender inequality, (p. 110)

In this analysis of gender constructions in food adverts, Bordo makes three claims, that they present the control of hunger as the aspiration for achieving the normative feminine slender body, that hunger is constructed as a cultural norm of feminine practice, and that the practice of feeding others is the primary site of pleasure for women to experience in relation to food. This discussion will focus on the first two claims, as the role of women as producers, not consumers, is less relevant to the examination of the techniques of moral regulation to shape consumption of alcohol, the focus of this study.

Bordo refers to the construction of the lack of desire for food as a micro-practice for the slender woman in contemporary adverts, comparing an advert for a diet pill with one for a cigarette brand aimed at women. Comparing the woman in the smoking advert with the woman described in the diet pill advert, Bordo states, “she has achieved a state beyond craving. Undominated by unsatisfied, internal need, she eats not only freely but without deep desire and without apparent consequence.” (p. 102). These adverts present a feminine identity untroubled by the demands of the body to satiate hunger. They have attained control over their body, and are thus maintaining a normative feminine slender body without the need to self-regulate.

The gender ideology underpinning this relationship between lack of hunger and femininity is, as Bordo argues, the link between appetite for food and sexual appetite (p. 110). In advertisements for desserts in particular, Bordo notes the construction of food as an object which is sexually desired. In such adverts, she argues, “Women are permitted such gratification from food only in measured doses.” (p. 112). This is particularly evident in the types of food in which women are presented as the consumer: “Women are not even permitted, even in private, indulgences so extravagant in scope as the full satisfaction of their hungers. Most commonly, women are used to advertise, not ice cream and potato chips (foods whose intake is very difficult to contain and control), but individually wrapped pieces of tiny, bite-size candies.” (p. 129).

This point leads the reader towards the argument that hunger is an ideological construct of feminine practices, that

The representation of unrestrained appetite as inappropriate for women, the depiction of female eating as a private, transgressive act, make restriction and denial of hunger central features of the construction of femininity...Such restrictions on appetite, moreover, are not merely about food intake. Rather, the social control of female hunger operates as a practical “discipline”...that trains female bodies in the knowledge of their limits and possibilities. Denying oneself food becomes the central micro-practice in the education of feminine self-restraint and containment of impulse. (p.130).

This principle, of restraint and control of appetites, as a technique of self-regulation, is highly pertinent to exploring the methods employed by moral regulation projects, to shape norms, values and practices. Bordo’s analysis of the construction of feminine appetite is of clear relevance to this study of projects seeking to shape feminine drinking conduct, however there is little scope to analyse why these regulatory projects emerge (in their specific discursive form) at that point in history. To explore this idea, particularly in examining the contemporary sources, post-feminist theory offers a theoretical insight.

3.6 *Post-feminist theory*

Post-feminist theory is a development of feminist theory in the field of media studies, where a clear divergence has emerged between popular cultural responses to second wave feminist theory and academic third wave feminist theory. Through examination of popular cultural phenomena such as Bridget Jones, the heroine in a series of fictional newspaper columns, books and films, post-feminist theory accounts for how many of the ideas of second wave feminism are embraced, yet also rejected, as Tasker and Negra argue, “One of postfeminisms signature discursive formulations couches the celebration of female achievement...within traditionalist ideological rubrics.” (2007: 7). McRobbie’s (2009) feminist media and culture studies led her to conclude that,

“The various political issues associated with feminism are understood to be now widely recognised and responded to (they have become feminist common sense) with the effect that there is no longer any place for feminism in contemporary popular culture. But this disavowal permits the subtle renewal of gender injustices, whilst vengeful patriarchal norms are also re-instated.” (p. 55).

In this analysis, the representation of female empowerment, emancipation and freedom to pursue education, careers, and serial monogamous sexual relationships in media from the 1990s onwards is responding to the dominant discourses of second wave feminism, inculcating its ideas into the media, but also simultaneously rejecting the political aspects of feminism, such as economic inequalities, and reinforcing the dominance of heterosexual romance as the uppermost priority. This argument takes Bordo's (2003) thesis on hunger as ideology a step further, as hunger, as a feminine practice to contain the female body, is part of a reassertion of patriarchal norms of control whilst drawing upon apparently feminist discourses of independence and freedom. It renews gender ideologies as part of a wider cultural repertoire of books, films, television, advertising and, as in this study, public health initiatives.

This study is examining materials produced by alcohol regulation campaign groups, which are dissimilar to media outputs such as television, film or books, as they are created to discursively shape conduct in relation to drinking alcohol, with no intent to entertain their audience. However, the emergence of these specific discursive formations in the attempt to shape feminine drinking conduct can be explained through postfeminist theory. McRobbie (2009) states that, whilst her analysis of postfeminism focuses on the media, it can be applied to a wider socio-cultural realm:

"Elements of feminism have been taken into account, and have been absolutely incorporated into political and institutional life. Drawing on a vocabulary that includes words like 'empowerment' and 'choice', these elements are then converted into a much more individualistic discourse, and they are deployed in this new guise, particularly in media and popular culture, but also by agencies of the state, as a kind of substitute for feminism." (p1).

In considering alcohol regulation campaign materials as ephemera of the extra-state in a postfeminist period, new insights can be offered into the techniques used to shape feminine drinking conduct. This study examines alcohol regulation campaigns as an aspect of a moral regulation project, but by taking a focus on 'soft regulation' this study examines the discursive practices used by campaigns to shape conduct. To offer an insight into how these techniques operate, this study draws upon the theories about feminine appetite and gender ideology set out by Bordo (2003). What this theory cannot offer is an explanation for why these techniques appeared in the campaigns in the early 2000's. Postfeminist theory offers an explanation for why this

set of discursive constructions, and the techniques examined in this study, are utilised in campaigns from the post 2000s, as McRobbie (2007) explains:

“Choice is surely, within lifestyle culture, a modality of constraint. The individual is compelled to be the kind of subject who can make the right choices. By these means, new lines and demarcations are drawn between subjects who are judged responsive to the regime of personal responsibility, and those who fail miserably.” (p.36).

The alcohol regulation campaigns examined in this study are presented as agencies seeking to address a form of conduct which is identified as wrong, in need of regulation. Linking to Gerritsen (2000) and Critcher’s (2011) points on the interrelationship of regulatory formations, the liberalisation of formal alcohol regulations (such as hours of sale) necessitates informal, or ‘soft’ forms of regulation to take prominence in the attempt to shape drinking conduct. If we view the post 2000s as a period of postfeminism, the campaign materials are responding not only to the liberalisation of alcohol sales, but also the changing place of women in the NTE, as consumers participating in equal numbers as male drinkers. There is an imperative to shape female drinking conduct as the concepts of equality and choice in the participation of women in the NTE led to the reassertion of normative feminine drinking practices, which are associated with light/moderate, controlled alcohol consumption.

3.7 Reflection on moral regulation theory

This chapter has explored the many facets of moral regulation theory, particularly the breadth of regulatory formations is has been applied to in examining how norms, values and beliefs are shaped. In this study, I argue that moral regulation theory is a useful theoretical framework in that it establishes the process by which some behaviour is problematised. Hunt’s argument for the relational aspect of moral regulation projects, that the variations in resources of the regulators and the regulated, helps to explain the degree of success of different regulatory projects. Hunt identifies the factors which constitute the processes of moral regulation, including discourses, techniques and practices (1999: 8), but does not proceed to examine techniques used to shape conduct in his historical overview of moral regulation projects.

Furthermore, the recognition of extra-state organisations as the agents of regulatory discourse in moral regulation projects, as identified by Dean, Ruonavaara and Hunt, is

pertinent to exploring how women's drinking, as a social problem, is shaped. The policies and laws enacted by governments play a role in establishing formal regulatory formations, but they do not offer a route to explaining what is happening in the formation of specific problem behaviours around sexual dress styles, how women occupy public spaces, and how their intoxication is problematised. By establishing the complexities of the social organisation of power, the analysis of the regulation of women's drinking moves beyond a narrative of oppressor/oppressed, to show how gender ideology is formed and enacted from multiple sites.

Perhaps the most important aspect of moral regulation theory is the means of integrating analysis of long term developments in examining regulatory projects and discourse. Ruonavaara suggests that moral regulation is a type of "historical sociology" (1997; 277) because it is often used in the analysis of historical episodes. Ruonavaara debates if this is due to the critical distance of the researcher from the topic, however empirical applications of moral regulation theory by Critcher (2011) and Yeomans (2014) have demonstrated that it offers a theoretical framework for historical comparative analysis. Corrigan's (1981) view, that history is the internal texture of the modes of expression of moral regulation, shows the extent to which the role of historical formation on regulatory projects and their discursive formations, is embedded in moral regulation theory. Both Corrigan and Hunt (1999) present arguments for examining moral regulation projects as part of longer historical developments. Otherwise, the analysis of such 'episodes' is at risk of mistaking them for disconnected events, emerging out of an immediate event and then disappearing when the problematised conduct ceases. Critcher points to the occasional surges in moral discourse, but argues that these are part of longer term concerns about identities and practices.

The capacity to take into account longer term historical developments in the formation of problematised conduct is a key strength of moral regulation theory. It is pertinent to examining how specific forms of conduct of women drinking have been identified as a social problem. The ideas about what factors are wrong, that are the core social problems associated with women's drinking, have not emerged out of a vacuum. Furthermore, as was identified in part 1.1, similarities in the positioning of women's bodies in images where women's drinking is criticised indicate that historical

formations may be influential in understanding how women's drinking is understood as a social problem.

Bordo (2003) builds upon the discussion of the historical formation of self governance through her discussion of the discourses on women's bodies. On the point of the formation of the regulated female body, she argues, "Viewed historically, the discipline and normalisation of the female body ...— has to be acknowledged as an amazingly durable and flexible strategy of social control." (p. 166). She gives the example of Victorian conduct manuals, which "warned elite women of the dangers of indulgent and over-stimulating eating and advised how to consume in a feminine way." (P. 112).

Moral regulation theorists point to the historical formation of the 'internal texture' of moral expression, and to the role it plays in positioning apparently new concerns about a specific practice or identity within longer historical understanding of how anxieties are continual discursive construction, emerging to the fore of public debate in 'episodes'. By drawing upon Bordo's argument, the analysis of the place of history in contemporary moral regulation can be taken a step further. It is possible to compare the techniques or methods of moral regulation; the discursive formations to produce the self-controlled female body may implement similar technologies of self regulation, in the same way as the internal texture of discourses, over centuries long time frames.

Examining moral regulation theory, and understanding the myriad ways it has been implemented, has drawn attention to some unresolved issues. Dean's (1994) critique of the theory, that it is a more elaborate social control theory, draws attention to the concept of agency in moral regulation theory. If practice and identity are subject to discourses intending to change or challenge conduct which is ascribed with 'wrongness' by moral regulators, questions are raised about the possibility of agency in this theory. Yeomans (2014) argues strongly for the salience of agency in moral regulation theory, particularly in the beliefs and actions demonstrated by moral regulators (p. 16).

In the body of literature on women's drinking, it is evident that, in spite of the demonization of the female drinker throughout history, some women have resisted these discourses, have continued to drink, and to become intoxicated. Whilst the female drinkers presented in many contemporary studies demonstrate a clear understanding of normative femininity in drinking practices, female drinkers continue in practices and identities which discourses present as 'wrong'. The female drinkers are actively reformulating the discourses of drinking to represent respectability whilst seeking intoxication. However, framing these discourses in relation to McRobbie's (2009) Postfeminist theory, the apparent freedom to pursue intoxication demonstrated by these women drinkers takes place within a narrative which reasserts conservative gender ideology, through the bodily performance of a heteronormatively, heterosexily version of femininity. Young women can go out and participate in the NTE, as long as their feminine bodies maintain the codes of respectability and heteronormative desirability, through drinking conduct, and dress style.

A further critique by Dean (1994), that the reliance on Foucault to develop moral regulation theory, as a distinctive branch, in order to examine the processes of self regulation, renders moral regulation unnecessary. However, governmentality extends to only one aspect of moral regulation theory, the regulation of the self and others. It does not draw insights into the actions of moral regulators, who seek to shape conduct of others not just through promoting self formation, but through myriad forms of regulation, including highly formalised, external modes such as legislation. Furthermore, it does not open up a view to the methods of moral regulators in the production of discourse on preferred forms of identity and conduct.

A third critical point on moral regulation theory is the wide range of approaches taken by different theorists and empiricists. It is questionable that a theory which can be applied to state formation and self formation should remain meaningful. This is a critique levelled at moral panic theory also, that it is applied in such disparate ways that the term becomes essentially meaningless. However, I argue that considering the interconnectedness of projects of moral regulation to the state, community and individual necessitates a wider view of regulatory formations.

3.8 *Conclusion*

This theory chapter has presented a discussion of moral regulation theory, as a varied concept, drawing attention to how it serves to explain how certain behaviours are identified as wrong, and in need of regulation. However, to date, there has been minimal exploration of how moral regulation operates on the individual, to shape conduct. Dean's (1994) attempts ultimately lead to the argument that moral regulation is an unnecessary concept, that the concept of ethics is sufficient to explain the processes of self-formation. I agree with Ruonavaara's (1997) critical comments on Dean, that moral regulation offers a more accessible means to understanding these phenomena. However, Ruonavaara does not offer a route to examining the processes by which individual conduct is shaped. Hunt (1999) points out that techniques of moral regulation projects are essential parts of the primary field of study of moral regulation, and identifies that Foucault drew attention to dividing practices as an aspect of technique used in shaping conduct. Moral regulation theory, with its emphasis on discourses, offers a route to examining the techniques used to shape women's drinking practice, whilst accounting for the wider network of regulatory actions which interrelate in the formation of specific forms of conduct as wrong or preferred. These regulators do not solely originate from the state, but exist from outside the state too.

Moral regulation theory also draws attention to the historical formation of moral discourses, as it focuses on how the content of discourses are shaped by historical norms and values. It shows that 'episodes' of specific forms of conduct necessitating regulatory intervention through projects are not disparate, unrelated events, but are tied together in longer term problematisation of conduct, particularly of women, and of the working classes.

Nevertheless, it is evident that the existing moral regulation theories do not propose an approach for analysing the techniques of moral regulation. By drawing upon Bordo's approach to the regulation of women's appetites, a method emerges in which the practices are identified as inexorably linked to gender ideologies. Furthermore, Bordo's proposition that the techniques of self-regulation are historical formations offers a new perspective on moral regulation theory. This project seeks to find out

what factors are the social problems of women drinking, and how regulations seek to shape conduct to preferred forms. There is a strong emphasis on the ‘wrongness’ of women’s drinking, when it is a social problem, as emerged in the review of the literature. Moral regulation theory enables a study of how specific forms of conduct, deemed to be wrong, are shaped by discourses.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 *Introduction*

The purpose of this chapter is to set out the methodological approach to the study of alcohol regulation campaigns. The methodological choices explained here are underpinned by the theoretical frameworks of this study, moral regulation theory, governance and post-feminist theory. To investigate women's drinking within these theoretical frameworks, three areas of investigation take primacy: (1) to understand the discourses utilised by the alcohol regulation campaigns in both periods, to convey the sense of 'wrongness' of drinking women's conduct; (2) to find out the extent to which the discourses in the contemporary campaigns are historical formations, and (3) following Bordo's (2003) example of research on the conduct of women in consuming food, to gain a new insight into the techniques used by alcohol regulation campaigns to shape drinking conduct, an area previously unexplored in moral regulation theory.

This chapter will outline the research design, and present the method of data analysis.

4.1.1 *Research questions*

Taking the body of knowledge identified in the literature review into consideration, that women's drinking has been understood as a social problem primarily through the ideas of troublesome sexual identities, consumption and the transgression of middle class gender ideology. The literature review highlighted gaps, particularly a concern about developing a better understanding of what facets of women's drinking are addressed in the attempt to shape women's drinking practices, and how alcohol regulation campaigns have tried to shape women's drinking practices. To address these gaps in the knowledge, four research questions have emerged:

1. How has women's drinking been understood as a social problem in the United Kingdom?
2. How do alcohol regulation campaigns seek to shape normative feminine drinking practices?

3. Can a historical comparison aid a better understanding of why alcohol regulation campaigns use these discursive formations?
4. Is this an example of a moral regulation project?

The existing body of literature has presented some insights into the question of how women's drinking has been understood as a social problem, but there remain gaps in understanding how historical discourses of women's drinking as a social problem inform the contemporary ideas about women's drinking. Furthermore, there have been no serious attempts to understand how women's drinking is constructed by alcohol regulation campaign groups, who identify women's drinking as a social problem in need of regulation.

This point leads on to the second research question, how do alcohol regulation campaigns seek to shape normative feminine drinking practices? To answer this question, this study will explore how women are constructed by alcohol regulation campaign groups, to identify the techniques by which they seek to shape women's drinking practices. It is the intention of this study to undertake a historical comparison of alcohol regulation campaigns. By using a historical comparative technique, I aim to uncover a better understanding of how these techniques are intended to operate.

The purpose of the historical comparative study is to add greater insight into the construction of women's drinking as a social problem, and the techniques by which alcohol regulation campaigns seek to shape drinking practices. To consider the value of knowledge gained by this method of analysis, the third research question asks can a historical comparison aid a better understanding of why alcohol regulation campaigns use these discursive formations? In chapter three, (section 3.3.5) the ways in which moral regulation theory has been explored in historical analyses of processes was discussed. Gaining an insight into the extent to which comparing alcohol regulation campaigns from the mid-19th century provides new insights into contemporary campaigns will also inform the consideration of the theoretical framework for this study.

The final research question will address the theoretical framework of this study, is this an example of a moral regulation project? Chapter three presented the genealogy of moral regulation theory, with an overview of the wide range of targets and processes which have been analysed as moral regulation. In examining alcohol regulation campaigns, to understand how they seek to construct women's drinking as a social problem, and attempt to shape women's drinking conduct, I will consider how these processes relate to those described in existing formations of moral regulation theory.

In this chapter, along with the discussion of various methodological issues, the most pertinent topic will be addressing how a historical comparative analysis will be undertaken. This will involve consideration of the social context in which each set of sources were produced, the differences in intention of the authors of the campaign materials, and the extent to which these materials can be considered as reflecting existing beliefs, norms and values of the social context in which they were produced.

This chapter will address the methodological principles underpinning the design; hence the ontological and epistemological approaches to the topic will be discussed from the start. Following this, the reasons for choosing the time periods selected (1830 – 1872 and 2004 – 2014) will be explained.

The document sources will be described, specifically how these sources can be treated as data relevant to answering the research questions. The document sources will be materials produced by alcohol regulation campaigns. One key factor of these sources is the visual data they provide. A discussion of visual sources as data and the ways in which visual methods can be used alongside text-focused discourse analysis will be presented.

Research design choices will be presented, discussing how document sources will be identified and collected. The management of data will be explained, concluded by a discussion of the analysis methods used.

4.2 *Ontology and Epistemology*

This study will approach the research field from a social constructionist approach. Social constructionism is a broad description of an approach to the ontological state of reality, in which the notion of reality is that which is experienced by social actors. Whilst Burr (1995) makes a case for differentiating between constructionism and constructivism, she also notes that these two terms are often used interchangeably (p.2). Young and Collin (2004) argue that constructivism directs the focus towards the individual as the primary focus for study, to examine knowledge produced through interactions in their socio-cultural context. Constructionism places emphasis on the interactive processes of knowledge production and therefore looks at materials as the primary source of data (p.1). This study focuses solely on examining materials as primary source data to investigating the knowledge of the socio-cultural context in which they were produced. For this reason, the term social constructionism/constructionist will be used in this study.

Taking social constructionism as the ontological approach underpinning this study means that certain assumptions about reality are explicit in the methodological choices taken. Before these assumptions are laid out, it is necessary to explore how social constructionism has been defined by others, and how I am defining it in this study.

Existing definitions of social constructionism range from single sentences: “An ontological position that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continuously being accomplished by social actors.” (Bryman, 2012: 710) to chapters and in some cases, entire books (Kukla, 2000). Berger(1967), in the book *The Social Construction of Reality*, argued: “The world of everyday life is not only taken for granted as reality by the ordinary members of society in the subjectively meaningful conduct of their lives. It is a world that originates in their thoughts and actions, and is maintained as real by these” (p. 33). This argument set up the main premises of social constructionism, that (1) ways of knowing the ‘everyday’ or ‘reality’ are filled with taken for granted assumptions of social actors, (2) this everyday life is the product of the beliefs and practices of social actors, who are (3) reproducing norms and values of this ‘reality’ through their actions and interactions.

To add to this definition of social constructionism, Burr (1995) identifies that social realities are a product of a specific historical and cultural location of the social actor. Therefore:

this means that all ways of understanding are historically and culturally relative. Not only are they specific to particular cultures and periods of history, they are seen as products of that culture and history, and are dependent upon the particular social and economic arrangements prevailing in that culture at any time (p. 4).

This historical and cultural specificity of social knowledge of everyday life, in which knowledge is also shaped by the legacies of past social knowledge, is an assumption which is pertinent to this study, in which normative feminine drinking practices are a product of both the specific socio-cultural context in which these gendered practices are enacted, whilst also being shaped by historically informed feminine ideals.

It is through these defining characteristics that the ontological approach taken in this study can be described as social constructionist. It is an anti-essentialist theory, which rejects the idea of reality beyond that which is created through the action and interaction of social actors. These assumptions have led to criticisms of the social constructionist ontological viewpoint, especially concerning how this position lends itself to relativism, when no objective truth can be said to exist, and the agency of social actors when it is argued that norms, values and practices are the products of discourse.

The argument against social constructionism concerns the rejection of objective truths. The role of discourse as the focus of examining the social world raises questions about the ability of social constructionist theories to make any claims about reality existing outside of language. Burr (1995) states:

The absence of an ultimate truth seems to be the foundation upon which the theoretical framework is built. Within this framework it is enormously difficult to say that some ideas or ways of thinking about the world are correct and others false. It is also difficult to conceptualise the relationship between discourse and 'reality'...This seems to deny that there is any material base to our lives (p.86).

If, as an extreme position on discourse would argue, there is no reality external to that created through language, it would not be possible to formulate arguments against discriminatory beliefs and practice; such ideas would be held as equally valid to anti-discriminatory beliefs. Additionally, as Alvesson (2002) describes in a discussion on the problems of empirical research within a postmodern theoretical framework, “This external claim to some reality having been researched and possibly understood at some depth is the cornerstone of empirical work” (p173). If reality, beyond that contained within discourses, is rejected, then the claims to knowledge of the social world by researchers would be falsified.

The problem of external reality in social constructionism is addressed by Alvesson (2002) who argues: “The *stuff* of the world only becomes an *object* in a specific relation to a being for whom it can be such an object. This does not imply the standpoint that there is no objective reality, although for social scientists it is a socially constructed reality” (p. 52). So, for social constructionist theorists, language is the main point for approaching how to know about the social world. This does not necessarily mean that material reality does not exist, only that the only means of accessing how material reality shapes the social world is through the study of discourse. This answer would be unlikely to satisfy theorists who take a realist approach to knowledge, as they would argue that there is an external reality which can be accessed. This study takes an ontological approach which can accept the idea of external reality is something that does exist. However, the ways of knowing about this external reality is through the ways it is reproduced by individuals through their actions and interactions. Therefore discourse is identified as a means to accessing the social experience of external reality for individuals.

The concept of agency presents a challenge to social constructionism. Burr explains, “the claim that human beings, and all the other ‘things’ consciously present to us, are socially, discursively produced....People thus become the puppets of the ideas they (erroneously) believe to be their own, and their actions are determined by the underlying structure of ideas and language rather than by own choices” (Burr, 1995: 89). The problem of asserting that humans have agency when they are created by and are reproducing social power through discourses is clear.

The challenge of asserting that human agency exists when discourse is the focus of examining the social world has highlighted some of the weaknesses of social constructionism as a grand theory. However, these issues have been examined and potential ways of integrating the concept of agency into constructionist theory explored.

Locating the idea of human agency within a social constructionist theory has been addressed through considering that multiple discourses and positions exist within the same socio-cultural context; therefore the individual has the possibility of choice, albeit from a limited range of discursive formations and positions (Burr, 1995: 90). The idea proposed by Foucault, that social change can be brought about by humans taking up alternative discourses, suggests that humans do have agentic capacity. Again, this form of agency is highly restricted, and would not satisfy critical realist theorists, who argue that by knowing social structures they can be changed. However, this approach does fit with the ontological assumptions which underpin this study. Individuals do have agency, in this case in their choices about drinking practices throughout their drinking career. These choices are a range of discursively constructed identities and practices, such as the abstainer, the light/moderate drinker or the heavy sessional/binge drinker. The concept of 'addiction' does pose a challenge to the agency of the drinker, yet the model pursued for recovery in the Alcoholics Anonymous system asserts that the addict has agency to seek support. However, the individual does have agentic capacity to make choices about drinking beliefs and practices, and change these throughout their drinking career.

The critical responses to social constructionist theories from those associated with positivist theory are due to differing ontological and epistemological assumptions. These assumptions have impacted the approach to the field of research in alcohol studies, particularly studies on women's drinking. Positivist assumptions underpin epidemiological research on women's drinking. Such studies use existing meta-datasets to understand women's drinking. Such quantitative data served to preserve women's drinking as an issue of marginal interest, as women's drinking appears less problematic in terms of the scale and prevalence of alcohol related health, social and crime problems. Thus positivist assumptions that women's drinking can be understood by looking to datasets for answers have failed to understand the

complexities of gendered drinking norms and practices. Therefore, approaching the topic from a constructionist ontological position enables new approaches and methodologies, contributing to this area of alcohol studies.

The ontological approach underpinning this study evidently impacts upon the epistemological approach to the methodology. Quantitative methods are rejected as they assume a positivist epistemology, which would seek to apply the methods of the natural sciences which would fail to gather data which conveys the complexity of gendered alcohol regulation. The study follows an interpretivist epistemology; in which discourse analysis, using the method of narrative analysis, will be used to gather data on constructions of femininity in drinking practices. This methodology enables analysis of discursive formations of gendered drinking practice in different time periods. By looking to the ways in which gendered drinking is represented in alcohol regulation materials in different time periods, the contextual specificities of the cultural context will be highlighted. It is also assumed that as discourses are the products of historically and culturally informed gender constructions, there is a relationship between source materials produced in the UK over time. Meanings and values associated with gender today are informed by historical gender values. It is expected that whilst there will be differences, elements of continuity in gender values should be visible.

4.3 Comparative study – methodological considerations

This study involves looking at alcohol regulation campaign materials from two historical periods. Comparative historical analysis, which is informed by sociological theories and methods, emerged in the 1960s and 1970s (Mahoney and Rueschemeyer, 2003:7) whilst it is part of a much longer established tradition of examining social change, seeking to develop wider contextual knowledge of social norms and values of the present has led to theorists such as Bordo (2003) undertaking comparative historical analysis. Skocpol (2003), among others, argues that historical comparative analysis entails a distinct epistemology, one which I wish to challenge. This discussion will draw attention to some of the factors which require particular attention when using this method. Following this discussion, the reasons for choosing the two time periods from which data will be collected will be explored.

Mahoney and Rueschemeyer (2003) argue that:

One might be tempted to define comparative historical analysis in a very broad sense, such that the tradition encompasses any and all studies that juxtapose historical patterns across cases...However, we prefer to reserve the label “comparative historical analysis” for a distinctive kind of research defined by relatively specific characteristics. While not unified by one theory or one method, all work in this tradition does share a concern with causal analysis, an emphasis on processes over time, and the use of systematic and contextualised comparison (p.10).

Examining this definition of historical comparative analysis from a social constructionist approach, the assertion that causal analysis should be a concern of research agendas clashes with the rejection of realist assumptions. The theory of causal analysis assumes that there is an objective reality which is accessible outside of discourse. Mahoney and Rueschemeyer (2003) respond to this debate by arguing that seeking a causal analysis legitimates focusing on some aspect of a phenomenon than others, overcoming what they identify to be selectivity of interpretivist epistemologies (p.23) and that causal arguments are present throughout cultural approaches to theory building (p.24). These arguments fail to account for the influence of the socio-cultural context which positions the researcher within their approach to the body of data available to study a specific time period. The assumption that the researcher, by looking for causal arguments, will not allow their existing knowledges, assumptions and beliefs to impact how they interpret the data, demonstrates a lack of reflexive awareness of the centrality of the researcher to the analysis or theory building from the research they conduct.

Taking a focus on causal arguments increases the possibility that certain aspects shaping phenomena, such as the gender differentiation of drinking practices, may be given greater emphasis than others. This could be to the detriment of gaining a full understanding of the complexity of historical subject matter. An example of this can be seen in Gutzke’s (2014) analysis of periods of heightened concern about women’s drinking. In a discussion of an upsurge in publications, legislation and debate about women’s drinking in the late 19th and early 20th century, Gutzke locates the cause within wider concerns about the decline of the empire. By taking this approach,

Gutzke is overlooking the ongoing processes of gender ideology shaping women's lives. Overlooking the content of gender assumptions and focusing on wider geopolitical concerns as the causal factor leads to Gutzke's account failing to take into account the complexity of constructions of women's drinking.

This study will undertake a historical comparative analysis, informed by social constructionism. Therefore, this method will not be used to identify causal explanations for gendered drinking practices. Causal analysis does not have a place in a social constructionist approach to comparative historical analysis; however examining processes over time, making a systematic and contextualised comparison are important to undertaking this method from a social constructionist approach. The formation of gendered drinking practices, with particular reference to the techniques of alcohol regulation campaigns, will be examined to show historical continuities and changes from the mid 19th century and in the early 2000s. Undertaking this comparison will require a systematic approach to analysis of the sources, to examine all the facets of how women are constructed as transgressing or meeting ideal gendered drinking practices. This will also require close attention to the contexts in which these sources were produced. The main difference is the intended outcome of the alcohol regulation campaigns. In the mid-nineteenth century teetotal temperance movement, this outcome was total abstinence, and in the early 2000s, the outcome was moderate drinking.

The time periods selected for this study were directed primarily from an interest in moral regulation projects. I will describe some of the key points of interest in the alcohol regulation campaigns of these time periods. The period 1830 – 1872 was the time when teetotal temperance advocacy rose to be the dominant form of temperance, albeit with waning significance towards the end of the 19th century as prohibitionism came to dominate the interests of advocates (Harrison, 1994: 182). Taking in the wider context, following the 1830 Beer Act, the rapid proliferation of beer shops, as discussed in the literature review, marked a considerable liberalisation of alcohol sales, which went on to include the launch of off-license sales of wine for grocery shops (Nicholls, 2009: 121) and extending of opening hours of public houses (Harrison, 1994: pp 316 – 317). As the teetotal temperance campaigns did not initially aim at

legislative change to promote total abstinence, the focus was placed on the individual drinker and the community to support total abstinence (Harrison, 1994: 137).

The temperance movement was not an isolated social reform movement, as simultaneously organised advocacy of humanitarian issues were supported by temperance advocates. One such example was the link between temperance advocates supporting housing reform and improved sanitary conditions, such as F.R. Lees (Harrison, 1994: 310). The proliferation of philanthropic movements supported a temperance movement in which enabling self-improvement was favoured over legislative reform.

Advocating self-regulation in alcohol regulation campaigns has been a central focus of alcohol regulation campaign groups in the early 2000s. Following the Licensing Act 2003, public houses, bars and nightclubs in England and Wales were eligible to apply for a license to trade for up to 24 hours. In reality, very few venues chose to apply to operate for 24 hours a day. Ideologically, this move was intended to be the basis of forming a continental drinking culture, in which longer opening hours encouraged drinkers to leave venues disparately, changing the culture of last orders speed drinking and public areas being flooded with drinkers in one surge (Nicholls, 2009: pp 227 – 228). In reality, the time at which venues closed simply moved to a later hour, so health, social and crime issues in urban drinking venues had a longer duration, and a later closing time to manage (Nicholls, 2009: 244). This Act was part of other liberalising trends in alcohol provision, as alcohol became ever cheaper in real terms, more off-license sales became the norm, (Nicholls, 2009: 245) and it was argued that a new culture of intentional intoxication developed around the new night time economy drinking venues (Measham and Brain, 2005: 262).

It was within this context of liberalised alcohol provision that the imperative to promote self-regulation became increasingly important. The alcohol regulation campaigns therefore had to implement methods to shape drinking conduct that did not rely upon formal regulatory modes. This was achieved through the 2004 Alcohol Harm Reduction Strategy for England (AHRSE) which placed emphasis on education programmes and healthy lifestyle campaigns to encourage drinkers to self-regulate to ensure their drinking remains moderate (Nicholls, 2009: 235).

This shift of regulatory formation fits well with Gerritsen's notion of hybrid forms of regulation (2000; 3). In an argument presented by Critcher (see 3.3.5) that deregulation in one range of the regulatory formations necessitates other regulatory formations to become more active (2011) in the reduced role of formal modes of regulation which shape the availability of alcohol, informal regulatory modes are heightened. These informal regulatory modes focus on shaping drinking conduct through discourse, a 'softer' technology than the more formal modes of regulation use, such as restricting hours of sale or increasing the cost of alcohol. The concept of soft regulation will be used to frame the idea of discourse-driven techniques to shape drinking conduct, which this thesis sets out to understand.

Moral regulation theory, as seen in chapter three, is a theoretical framework that has explored macro and mezzo social practices, to understand how specific forms of conduct played a role in state formation (Corrigan and Sayer, 1985), and to explain the shifting targets of moral regulation in regulatory projects (Hunt, 1999). These regulatory projects often sought to bring about new legislation, to formally regulate specific behaviours. This study looks at regulation projects which focus on micro practices of shaping conduct, implementing soft regulation techniques only. This means that this study is contributing a new approach to moral regulation theory, which will fill an existing gap in understanding the micropractices of moral regulation. Until this point, this is an unexplored aspect of moral regulation theory.

In 2004 the Portman Group (established in 1989), the UK alcohol industry leaders organisation, established a website titled 'Drinkaware', and in 2006 formed the 'Drinkaware trust', which became responsible for running alcohol education campaigns. The Portman trust was formed to promote responsible drinking, and prompted by negative political and media discourse on alcopops, founded a code of practice for "the Naming, Packaging and Merchandising of Alcoholic Drinks." (<http://www.portmangroup.org.uk/about>, accessed 11/01/18). The code of practice has been updated a further four times, most recently in 2013. Following the establishment of Drinkaware – the public facing alcohol education service, the Portman group solely focused on standards among drink producers to promote 'responsible drinking'. The Drinkaware trust receives the vast majority of its funding

from the drinks industry, both producers and retailers, and sports bodies (The Drinkaware Trust, 2015: 10).

In addition to the activities of The Drinkaware Trust, many Local Authorities, smaller charitable trusts and NHS Trusts have produced their own alcohol regulation campaign materials, many of which can be seen in Appendix 2. In these cases, the decision to produce these materials is likely to be through perceived local need – to be seen to be active in shaping drinking conduct. The relationship of these local alcohol regulation groups to wider state agencies, such as the NHS or the police, is evident through the collaborations and partnerships which are named on the documents. For example, West Mercia Police is credited as the producer of one of the sources, NHS Birmingham another two and the NHS and Home Office produced their own series of alcohol regulation posters. The relationship as co-producers and providers of funding for independent groups (e.g. Bottletop) of state agencies shows a much closer link between the state and the campaign groups in the contemporary period than in the mid-19th century alcohol regulation campaign groups. This appears to reinforce Critcher's (2011) view that when one form of regulation is reduced, others must fill the gap. State agencies, when restrictions on the sale of alcohol are liberalised, turn to funding and collaborating with semi-independent alcohol regulation groups to shape drinking conduct to maintain public order.

These two groups – the national, industry funded charity, and regional organisations, can largely be considered professional 'moral entrepreneurs' (Becker, 1997: 147). Becker's work on the creators and enforcers of rules presents a process by which "crusading reformers" (p.147) seek change to address some pervasive wrong they identify in the social world. He describes the "crusading reformer" as: "He operates with an absolute ethic; what he sees is truly and totally evil with no qualification. Any means is justified to do away with it. The crusader is fervent and righteous," (p.148). Becker points to prohibitionists as a type of moral crusader. Thinking about the Teetotal temperance advocate, their religious beliefs did shape their fundamental, unwavering belief that alcohol was the great cause of social harm, but they present two clear points of difference with Becker's moral entrepreneur. Firstly, Becker's moral entrepreneur seeks rule changes; the Teetotal temperance advocates sought to make abstinence more attractive than drinking – by advertising its economic and

social welfare benefits, and by offering prestigious roles to working class men and women who were actively involved in their organisations, exemplified through the badges, sashes and banners worn and carried by temperance activists in public. Secondly, when Becker envisages the end point of moral crusades, he sees that they end in professionalisation (p. 153) or marginalisation (p.154). The Teetotal temperance movement sought to professionalise its activities very early on in the movement, recruiting paid agents to travel around different regions of England to spread Teetotal ideas as early as 1837 (Winskill, 1891 :pp36 – 37).

In the contemporary period examined in this study, the call to action for alcohol regulation campaigns to form and produce materials begins with the state, or the Local Authority. There are no publicly visible “crusading reformers” here. The notion of someone beginning with an amateur interest and ending in a professional career, as Becker argues as one of the potential fates of crusaders in a moral crusade. The 20th century gradual professionalisation of many roles which were done on a voluntary basis in the mid-19th century, such as the probation visitor, has rendered the moral crusader marginalised in contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns.

In the time period 2004 – 2014, self regulation was the focus of alcohol campaign groups. Whilst various policies such as minimum price per unit of alcohol were given serious consideration (Yeomans, 2013: 70), and use of alcohol restriction zones in public spaces developed, such as with Alcohol Disorder Zones (Nicholls, 2009: 238), the focus remained on promoting moderate drinking through self regulation.

The span of each time period under examination does differ, with a span of 42 years in the mid-19th century period, and only ten years from the inception of AHRSE (2004). This 42 year period in the Temperance movement was when self-regulation and self-formation dominated the debate among advocates of Temperance, therefore it offers a period which is directly comparable with what has happened since 2004 in the UK. By attempting to replicate a similar time frame, say, 1972 – 2014, the study would be looking at data over a period prior to a major liberalisation of legal restrictions on alcohol. For the purpose of undertaking a comparative analysis, it is more important to ensure the similarities in the conditions in which the alcohol regulation campaign groups were operating.

It is these two key factors, increased liberalisation of availability of alcohol, and the imperative for alcohol regulation campaign organisations to promote self regulation, that these two time periods were chosen for a comparative analysis. In a period of alcohol regulations relaxing, the role of alcohol regulation campaigns in shaping drinking conduct, with a clear emphasis on self regulation, become more significant in wider alcohol regulation processes. By comparatively examining the materials produced by the campaign groups in each period, I aim to gain better insights into the discourses and techniques used to shape women's drinking practices.

4.4 Using source materials

Collecting historical sources in this instance takes a large amount of time as many of the sources are uncatalogued, requiring hand-searching in archives. Travelling to archives and searching for documents is time consuming, however recording the data through photographing sources has improved the speed of data collation. Many libraries with historical records hold Temperance materials, and the archive of the British National Temperance League is located at the University of Central Lancashire, Preston, Lancashire. Due to costs associated with travelling between Cambridge and Lancashire, this was not feasible. The archive has been extensively researched by McAllister (2014), in her work collating sources for exhibitions and a website (www.demondrink.co.uk, 30/07/15) offering an opportunity to peruse a range of sources through the website. Unfortunately, the contents of the archive have not been formally catalogued, they present a selection mediated by other researchers. The University Library at the University of Cambridge, a legal repository, holds an extensive rare books collection. It is amongst this collection that a considerable quantity of temperance materials were identified. Due to the proximity of the library, the historical data collection was undertaken in this location. The data collection took place over 20 days, in which sources were requested, searched and photographed.

For the contemporary document collection, the source data is more readily available through the websites of alcohol regulation campaign groups. In addition, over the course of the research, in-situ alcohol regulation campaign posters were identified in public places, particularly in the East of England. Images were collected through a

smartphone, with additional notes recorded at the location. This information was used to find the image on the internet, thus enabling a better quality image to be obtained, along with further information about the alcohol regulation campaign. Collecting and collating this data took place sporadically over the duration of the research, amounting to 20 days of data collection. In total, over a period of a year, the data collection took 40 days, during weekends and study leave.

When undertaking comparative historical research, careful consideration must be given to the source materials selected for inclusion in the evidence. The first decision is to whether primary, secondary or tertiary sources are used. Secondary sources, which are published texts based upon primary source data, could potentially be relevant to this study. However, as was noted in the literature review chapter, very little is written about women and alcohol, particularly women who drink, in the period 1830 – 1872. During the process of data collection, a valuable tertiary source was identified. ‘A complete catalogue of temperance literature’ (1887) was produced by the National Temperance Publication Depot London. Whilst this source was published outside the time frame of this study, it contained references to a range of Temperance publications, including books, pamphlets, one, two, four and six penny tracts, published within the time frame boundaries of this study. The publication listed tracts produced by different publishers, such as Drummonds, and by temperance organisations such as the Scottish Temperance League, and the Church of England Temperance Society, suggesting that this provided a comprehensive overview of Temperance literature in the UK in the late 19th century. Whilst not all the content fitted within the relevant time frame, using this guide enabled identification of a great deal of the materials gathered.

Drawing upon temperance literature that is published from a specific geographic location – such as the Ipswich Temperance Tracts, and the Scottish League Tracts on Temperance – might indicate that this temperance literature was produced to reflect and shape localised drinking concerns. However, the frontispiece to the Ipswich Temperance Tract series (1846) indicates that whilst these tracts had a specific place name associated with them, they were intended for national distribution, as this note for the ordering process illustrates:

“Bearing this in mind, calculate *how many* packets are wanted, and then order through your bookseller of SIMPKIN & CO., London, packets of no. 41 or 52 (as the case may be) if the IPSWICH TEMPERANCE TRACTS. Order by the *no. of the tracts*, never by the title, as the London booksellers are too much occupied to know each title.”

This practice of ordering tracts from a centralised distributor is reinforced by the instructions issued in ‘Ladies’ Tract Societies: With hints for their formation, No. 62’ (1846). This tract gives instruction on numbers of tracts to order, for distribution in a local area.

In the contemporary alcohol regulation campaign materials, as can be seen in appendix 1, many of the materials are produced by organisations which operate in a specific geographic area. For example, ‘Bottletop’ was a campaign which involved young people aged 15 – 24 in Herefordshire in producing alcohol campaign materials. Funding came from private and public sector sources, such as local education and NHS trust foundations, a national brewer, and national charities (<http://www.bottletop.info/about.html>, accessed 16/01/2018). These resources are produced in a specific geographic location, but by creating a website as the primary method of distributing this content, the use of the campaign materials is not restricted to that locality. As can be seen in appendix 2, the sources show generic locations, showing drinking conduct which could be taking place in any town across the UK.

Primary sources have many benefits to undertaking a study on subjects such as gendered drinking norms, as Bombaro (2012) states, “Primary sources help a researcher understand how people interpret and make sense of their own environment.” (p. 125). Historical research often focuses on establishing verifiable facts or truths; however multiple perspectives on the same person/event are important, especially in revisionist history. However, primary sources can offer insights into the norms, values and assumptions of organisations and individuals within a specific socio-historical context. This is described at length by Brundage (2013):

Magazines, journals and pamphlets all offer a vast storehouse of facts as well as prejudices. Like newspapers, they can reveal a great deal that the authors and editors never intended. Popular literature, sheet music, sermons and plays can also tell us much about a society’s common, unexamined assumptions...It

is, however, necessary to read such material as contemporaries did – an approach that requires both knowledge of the period and empathy for its people. Simultaneously, the material must be viewed through the critical, dispassionate eyes of a modern scholar who is posing questions that 19th century people could not or did not ask (pp 35 – 36).

This final point by Brundage is critical to handling the sources. Primary source material in this research is being used not to establish verifiable truths about women's drinking in the mid-19th century, but to establish how gender norms and values were utilised in alcohol regulation campaigns. This will involve finding out what gender norms and values were assumed by the authors and editors of temperance materials. This requires a good knowledge of the time period, empathy for the advocated of teetotal temperance, along with the critical gaze of a researcher approaching the topic from a feminist poststructuralist theoretical framework.

In this study, assumptions of the author of temperance materials are the focus of the analysis of a source. In traditional historical research, the aim of finding and analysing a source is to access facts or truths. Therefore, the questions used to interrogate a source, such as how the author was connected to the event/person they describe, the purpose of creating the document, and whether or not they achieved what they aimed to do when they created the document (Bombaro, 2012: 7) are not relevant questions in this study.

However, other questions a historian employs to interrogate a source are very relevant to this study. Establishing that the sources are reliable and relevant to the research question (Bombaro, 2012: 6) is a fundamental step in identifying data. This means that primary sources produced by temperance organisations in the time period of study will be the most reliable artefacts for investigating gendered alcohol regulation campaigns of the mid-19th century. The relevance of the material will be judged according to the extent of the focus on women's drinking in the source. Some sources are written explicitly for adult or child audiences, some directed towards women or men. Others are neutral and it is not evident whom the intended audience was.

The process for identifying the most relevant source material involved a detailed scoping review. This process revealed that a significant proportion of tracts mention women indirectly, usually as the wife or mother addressed by the male drinker/reformed drunkard. For example, in ‘A drunkards testimony’ (*Illustrated Temperance Anecdotes*, 1869) the male drunkard identifies how his mother had warned him of the dangers of going to the public house when he becomes an apprentice, but that her use of alcohol to treat his illnesses had given him ‘a taste’, thus sealing his fate as a drunkard from those early years. In this story, the mother is an important protagonist, and it serves to reinforce the importance of mothers encouraging abstinence through practice as well as words. Nevertheless, the mother’s drinking or non-drinking is not explicitly presented, therefore there is little opportunity to explore the construction of feminine drinking practices through this source. Many more sources make reference to wives entreating their drunkard husbands to abstain, such as in ‘The working man: My own affairs’ (*Ipswich Temperance Tracts*, no. 31, 1849) ‘John Jarvis, or the Temperance pledge signed’ (*Ipswich Temperance Tracts*, no. 47, 1849). In many cases, the female character is merely a figure to be victimised by male drinking, either through physical abuse or financial ruin. In order to create a dataset with a clear focus on feminine drinking practices, sources were selected when they featured:

1. A direct address to female readers (e.g. ‘A word to females’ *Tracts on Temperance: Scottish Temperance League*, no. 10, 1850)
2. Female characters given an active voice within the narrative, greater than purely responding to male drunkenness (e.g. ‘Is I not happy?’ *Ipswich Temperance tracts*, no.32, 1849)
3. Part or the whole of the story discusses a woman who drinks or makes an abstinence decision (e.g. ‘Charles Simpson’ *Tracts on Temperance: Scottish Temperance League*, no. 43, 1850)

This set of questions resulted in a set of 26 tracts, drawn from two bound tract collections, (as discussed on page 89). The Ipswich Temperance tracts, volumes I and II, contained 200 tracts in total; and the Scottish League tracts on temperance contained 80 tracts. This means that the sample of 26 tracts represents slightly less than 10% of the overall collections included in the scoping review. It is a small sample of the whole, as the majority of tracts examine male drinking, or present lengthy economic analyses of the impact of alcohol consumption on agriculture,

productivity and national economic prosperity. This means that the findings from the mid-19th century alcohol regulation campaigns reflect the discourses of this selection of tracts – those concerned solely with women’s drinking. Further study is required to understand how the findings from this analysis relate to the discourses of the wider source sample.

Furthermore, in order to ensure that sources are valid, reliable and relevant to the research topic, each was carefully evaluated. This evaluation took account of any evidence which shows the source was produced in the time period of interest, that it was published by a UK temperance organisation, and as described above, it provides a depiction of female drinking practices. The contemporary documents used in this study were approached with the same questions in mind. The documents were verified as being produced in the early 2000s, by a UK alcohol campaign organisation, and that the document targeted at or addressed women’s or girls drinking.

Once the primary sources from each time period were identified and collected, I proceeded with the content analysis. These sources, alcohol regulation campaign materials, both make use of textual and visual representations of women drinking. This is particularly evident in the contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns. These sources are primarily posters, and therefore feature very little text content to present the story, especially in comparison to the mid 19th century sources. However, the contemporary sources also provide detailed narratives on feminine drinking practices, with a greater use of visual representations. Therefore, in the interest of including as much relevant data as possible to addressing the ways in which gendered alcohol norms are asserted and used in materials, the visual materials were included in the analysis.

4.5 *Exploring visual materials*

The use of visual methods in social science research emerged in the USA in the 1920s. Thresher’s *The Gang* (1927) includes 24 images to illustrate various aspects of the spaces and identities of gang members in Chicago. Attention to cultural forms and practice increased the relevance of visual materials to social studies, as western

societies were interpreted as being ‘ocularcentric’ – privileging vision and the visual over other senses (Banks, 2007: 14; Rose, 2012: 3).

Visual methods researchers have made distinctions about sight and seeing, as through this distinction, the relevance of studying the visual is made clear. Prosser (2013) explains:

Visual researchers use the term visible ontologically to in referring to imagery and naturally occurring phenomena that can be seen, emphasising the physiological dimension and disregarding their meaning or significance.

Visual, however, is not about an image or object in of itself but more concerned with the perception and the meanings attributed to them (p. 177).

The visual, as a site of information to be researched, offers a means of accessing perceptions and meanings constructed within them, by the image, and through the uses of the image.

Visual research can use both found images – roughly categorised as “the collection and study of images produced or consumed by the subjects of research.” (Banks, 2007: 4) and created images “the creation of images by the social researcher (typically photographs, film and videotape, but also drawings and diagrams) to document or subsequently analyse aspects of social life and social interaction.” (Banks, 2007: 6).

It is noted that a third strand of visual methods has developed in which both methods are used.

The relevance of the visual, particularly in this instance when approaching the topic of gendered alcohol regulation from a social constructionist position, is described by Banks (2001): “Seeing is not natural, however much we might like to think it to be. Like all sensory experience the interpretation of sight is culturally and historically specific” (p. 7). Therefore, what any reader or audience of a visual image ‘sees’ depends upon the socio-cultural context in which the image is produced, situated and seen. Moreover, what the viewer or audience sees is not limited to that single image, but that meaning is constructed ‘intertextually’, that is by reference to all other images and knowledge the individual possesses. In turn, this means that the differential social positioning and knowledges possessed by individuals means that the way of seeing will be differentiated for different audiences. This also means that the

interpretation of the image by the audience may be different than how it was intended by the producer of the image (Rose, 2012: 15).

Visual methods have developed so that many different methods are applied to images for research. These approaches signify different focuses of interest on the image. The image may be relevant to a research question because of the production and producer of the image. The image itself is argued to have agency, through the ability to re-configure its meanings by changing the context in which the image is materially and discursively positioned (Rose, 2012: 15- 16). The third focus of analysis is on the audience of an image, particularly in how the image is viewed, and the meaning-making interpretation of an audience. These three focuses, producer, image and audience, intersect throughout the analysis of visual material, however different approaches direct the researcher to place emphasis on one focus more than others. The methods used in visual methods include compositional analysis, content analysis, semiology, psychoanalysis, discourse analysis and audience studies. This study will use discourse analysis methods to study images.

Visual methods will be applied to the image content of alcohol regulation campaign materials from the mid-nineteenth century and early 2000s. Therefore, the types of images used are found images. The images are presented alongside text, which Rose (2012) argues is quite usual when encountering images. The relationship of the image to the text is important to analysing the meaning of each individually, and interrelatedly. Rose cites Mitchell (1994) as coining the phrase image/text, to emphasise the co-construction of each form (2012:16).

The purpose of analysing the images, alongside and with the texts of alcohol regulation campaign materials, is to gain as full an insight into the discursive constructions of gendered drinking norms. The use of image to attract an audience to peruse a tract or poster is of importance to understanding the assumptions about gender norms and beliefs about drinking. These gender constructions and beliefs about drinking offer a lens through which to observe what assumptions audiences were expected to have about women and alcohol.

The protocols for undertaking discourse analysis with visual materials will be discussed towards the end of this chapter, in a broader explanation of the analysis methods used in both strands of this multi-method study.

4.6 *Handling the sources*

The primary source material collected to form a body of data on gendered alcohol regulation in alcohol campaign materials in the mid-nineteenth century were temperance tracts. Temperance organisations were prolific publishers of tracts, and the tract was a popular form for disseminating information or opinion, as described in 1894 by McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopedia of Biblical, theological and ecclesiastical literature*:

The term tract...has long been employed in the English language to designate a short or condensed treatise in print. It has primary reference to the form of publication, and is usually applied only to unbound sheets or pamphlets. Thus, a treatise on any topic may be published either in a book or tract form, the tract being much cheaper than the book, but also much more liable to be injured or destroyed. (p. 511).

Tracts were cheap to produce, widely distributed by temperance speakers (Harrison, 1994: 145), and locally organised temperance advocates. The purpose of the tract was to persuade the reader to become totally abstinent, and therefore stories and pictures were used to encourage interest. This source material offers an insight into the assumed shared norms and values of the writer, editor and audience for the tract.

Another important reason for choosing tracts as the source material is that many still exist. Many examples are preserved in volumes of tracts, providing an opportunity to review hundreds of tracts within a single volume. For example, the Ipswich series of Temperance Tracts contains over 200; the Tracts on Temperance by the Scottish Temperance League volume contain 80, and the volume *Illustrated Temperance Anecdotes* contains 122 tracts. Many libraries hold temperance tracts. The University of Cambridge library online catalogue lists 271 items when using the search term 'temperance tracts' (prior to application of dates to the search parameters).

Using these tract volumes, the range of relevant tracts were initially reviewed for the date and place of publication. Only tracts published in the period 1830 – 1872 in the United Kingdom were retrieved. The cataloguing of tracts is such that minimal information is given about the intended target of the materials; therefore the tracts which fit the time and location criterion was ordered and subject to scoping review to ensure the content was relevant to the research question. From the range of tracts identified in tract volumes, 26 relevant tracts were identified. The initial intention was to collect between 20 and 30 tracts in the expectation this would provide enough data to show repetition of themes and will allow claims to be made about the generalizability of the findings to other temperance tracts.

In the search for data, two major collections of tracts, which had been bound into volumes, were identified. The Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance contained 80 individual tracts, with a publication date of circa 1850 issued by the publisher who bound the tracts together. The Ipswich Temperance Tracts Volume I and Volume II numbered another 200 individual tracts to search, with a publication date circa 1846. Tracts varied in length from two pages to as long as twenty four. Hand searching the tracts took a considerable amount of time, as the extent of the role of women in the tract was not always evident from the title or first page alone. These collections contained tracts which had been published by two temperance publishing houses, and presented tracts set in a range of locations in the UK, including rural, urban and coastal settings. In total, 26 tracts were identified as passing through the three question screening technique. There was a very wide variety in the tracts, from essays directly addressing the female reader, narratives about women's experiences of drinking, and narrations of events at temperance meetings, in which women speak during the meeting.

Once the relevant tracts were identified using the three screening techniques (date and place of production, focus on women or girls drinking) the information contained within the source was recorded. As both visual and text content of the tracts was analysed, the sources will be photographed. If the focus was on the text only, the source could be transcribed, however this is a very laborious process. Therefore photographing the source is a faster process for data recording, and ensures all details about the source were available for analysis. In addition to photographing the sources,

notes were taken about each source. Note taking is a process advocated by Brundage (2013), and Barzun (1992). Both propose a technique of recording information on small notecards, with the intention that in the analysis phase, the sources can be sorted and re-sorted as thematic categories develop. These notecards recorded the title of the tract, the series the tract comes from and any identifying number, page numbers and year of publication. A brief description of any visual material and brief notes on the content was recorded to make links to the document, and then stored as .jpeg files on a laptop. To support the analysis of the documents, which would be coded by hand, the .jpeg files were printed off, and stapled, so the documents could be coded, compared and sorted.

4.6.1 Managing the contemporary sources

The data collection and handling for the materials produced in the time period 2004 – 2014 required less laborious searching than for the mid-19th century materials, as the materials are available online, as many resources are displayed directly through the websites of alcohol regulation campaign groups. They were identified by going directly to the websites such as Drinkaware, but also through online archives such as the European Drinks Industry Initiatives (<http://drinksinitiatives.eu/>), which hold past campaign materials from UK alcohol regulation campaigns. This includes a range of local and national campaign materials.

In addition, alcohol regulation campaign materials can be found in public spaces, especially in licensed premises. Throughout the course of the study, notes on alcohol regulation campaign posters situated in bars, pubs and nightclubs throughout the East of England were recorded on a smartphone. A photograph of the image was taken, along with some notes about the content. This enabled a search for the poster online, therefore providing additional contextual information about the poster, and providing a higher resolution copy of the image. It was hoped that sources produced by local as well as national alcohol regulation campaign groups will be identified. It was intended that between 20 and 30 individual items would be collected to be included in the analysis. This was the target number, thus ensuring there should be a similar quantity of materials collected for each of the time periods, preventing a skewed emphasis on one time period in the analysis. However, it was quickly identified that

there was a strong repetition of themes among the contemporary alcohol campaign materials. For example, a considerable range of sources used the Drinkaware tagline ‘You wouldn’t start a night like this, so why end it this way’, many posters used a similar image of a woman sitting or sprawling on a pavement in a public place, and loss of/disarranged apparel. Therefore, after recording and analysing 19 sources, it was deduced that data saturation was achieved.

The alcohol regulation campaign materials were reviewed to ensure that they were produced in the time period 2004 – 2014, that they were produced in the UK, and that the topic of the material was women or girls drinking. Once relevant sources were identified, they were downloaded and saved as .jpgs, and photographs taken in licensed premises saved as .jpgs. Following the method used for the mid-19th century sources, each item was recorded on a notecard, to enable a similar technique of sorting and re-sorting the sources as the themes develop. I printed off the materials, so they could be sorted, coded and compared with other printed documents easily.

4.7 Analysis method

The data collection process resulted in 45 sources being identified as fitting the requirements of this study, through the application of filtering questions. The content of the sources identified included text and visual material. As the study is undertaken with moral regulation theory, governance and post-feminism as the theoretical frameworks guiding the methodological choices taken, the analysis technique had to enable an in-depth examination of how women’s drinking is constructed as a social problem by alcohol regulation campaign groups. Moral regulation theory sets out the framework for understanding the processes by which certain forms of conduct are constructed as ‘wrong’ and in need of reform/correction. This study seeks to investigate moral regulation through micropractices, thus drawing on Bordo’s thesis of appetite as an aspect of gender ideology – that femininity is performed through lack of appetite for food. Furthermore, by drawing upon post-feminist theory to understand the specific constructions of gender in the contemporary source materials, this study seeks to understand why these particular forms of alcohol regulation campaign operated in these time periods. This study seeks to find out how alcohol

regulation campaigns, as a type of moral regulation project, seek to shape feminine drinking conduct by presenting certain drinking behaviours as normative or deviant.

Therefore, the technique of discourse analysis offers a suitable method for examining text and visual material to gain the depth of understanding of the materials required. Discourse analysis is, as Keller (2013) describes, “a research perspective on particular research objects that are understood as discourses” (p. 3). The tools of analysing discourses are widely varying, according to where the researcher places emphasis on as the site for meaning making and knowledge production.

Keller (2013) identifies four ‘lowest common denominators’ of discourse analysis. These are the concern with the use of language and other symbolic forms of social practice, that meanings of phenomena are socially constructed, the claim that individual interpretation and knowledge of these phenomena are part of a wider discursive structure and the use of symbolic orders are subject to rules of interpretation and action which can be reconstructed (p. 3).

Discourse analysis has two interrelated strands, the linguistic and the symbolic. Some methods of discourse analysis pay greater attention to linguistic formations; others pay greater attention to the symbolic and semantic meanings contained within texts. In the approaches taken in critical discourse analysis, the influence of Foucault’s politicised version of discourse has shaped linguistic study of text to develop an understanding of power, ideologies and social structures (Mills, 2004: 133).

As described above, this study involved collecting documents, which contain both text and images. Whilst text and visual materials can be analysed using different tools, the common factor is the use of narratives. The text and visual materials mutually present the structure and content of the narratives contained in the sources. It is these narratives which are used to convey meanings of gendered drinking norms and practices.

Narrative analysis, as a form of discourse analysis, developed in response to the critique of coding, which causes data to become fragmented (Bryman, 2012: 578) as a

means of investigating data. Keller (2013) describes why narratives are important to researching discourse:

Different approaches in the discourse research emphasize the role of storylines, common themes, plots or narrative patterns by means of which the individual components of an utterance are bound to a smaller or larger narrative or story, that is to say, how they are configured over and above the random sequencing of linguistic utterances. It is only in this way that an utterance gains its inner coherence, and only in this way that complexes of statements about dynamic relations, processes and changes are possible (pp. 124 – 125).

By looking at how the elements in a text are related to each other, rather than by coding each element and analysing the codes as examples of discourse independent from other texts or codes in the same document or source, the role of narrative forms and precedence of ideas within the text can be explored. The method of narrative analysis has received some criticism, particularly for assuming the validity of narratives presented by interviewees. This study is focusing solely on document analysis, and as such, makes no assumptions about the validity of the narratives contained within the sources. The focus of the analysis is the presumed knowledge of the viewer of the source, how the creator of the narratives expect the viewer to interpret and use the information on women's drinking practices.

Narrative analysis has been applied to published texts as well as interview transcripts. In a description of narrative analysis of documents conducted by Davis, Bryman describes how the study examined six dimensions to the narrative, "characters, setting, events, audience, causal relations, and themes." (p 584). This model for narrative analysis was implemented for documents produced within the recent past, thus whilst elements of the models are useful, some aspects such as audience are less applicable in a comparative historical study. Whilst certain claims about the ways in which temperance tracts were used, there is no body of evidence to illustrate who read or listened to mid-19th century tracts.

Keller (2013) describes the method for undertaking narrative analysis developed by Viehöver (2010). Presently the book written by Viehöver has not been translated into English and therefore it cannot be consulted for developing this part of the research

method. However, the brief outline given by Keller provides a sufficient starting point.

Keller (2013) describes the structural assumptions about narratives that Viehöver outlines. These are “stories consist of episodes, which may be based on value-oppositions...narratives have personnel at their disposal...individual units and actants used in the narrative are linked together by a single more or less dramatic action-configuration (the plot). Through this configurative act both the meanings of the lexical surface structures and the value structures are organised” (p.125). These assumptions about narratives, that they consist of a linked set of events or episodes, feature individuals who perform actions within the episodes, and that these events are linked together, which shows the meanings and values organising the episodes, was tested in the analysis of a sample of the data. This ensured that these assumptions were true to the data collected in this study. If the assumptions had proved to be inaccurate then the method of conducting narrative analysis which Viehöver proposes would have been revised.

The method of narrative analysis is described as a four point procedure:

1. Identification of the individual episodes in the narrative
2. Fine analysis of the episodes, the structures of the actors, time and space of the elements in the narrative and their linking through the plot
3. Determination of the main objects and value-structures
4. Determination of the narratives that are typical of the discourse

(Keller, 2013: pp125 – 126).

This method can be applied to both text and visual material within the sources. Typically, visual materials are considered to require a different approach in the analysis, as it is generally acknowledged that images cannot be analysed following precisely the same method as analysing text. Rose (2012) proposes a system of reflexive, interpretive coding (p.215) of an image, which allows different aspects of an image, and relationships between objects within an image, to be labelled, then as the analysis of different images develops, for the interpretations of already labelled images to change. The process of separating visual from text material undermines the interrelation of the two in presenting the narrative. This process can also be followed through a narrative-driven analysis of the image.

An image may feature one or more episodes; therefore the number of episodes contained within the image first was identified. Following this, a period of fine analysis, in which the processes described by Rose (2012: 210) was applied. These processes are described as immersing yourself in the image to become familiar with every detail contained within it, and making a list of all objects, and relationships between objects. This is a primary stage of analysing the image. The secondary phase involves identifying the meanings given to objects, to relationships between objects. Returning to the narrative analysis process, the wider discursive context to which the objects in the image are drawing upon informed the understanding of the main objects of the image, and the value-structures they present.

Based on the four point procedure set out by Viehover (in Keller, 2013: pp125 – 126) I created a table to populate with data when undertaking the analysis. The table (see Appendix 1) records the date, series title and source title for each source. It then has sections on the main objects featured in each source, the value structures and the typical narratives contained in the episode. This document guided the analysis of each episode within the source.

In analysing each source, I read through the long tracts, annotating where one episode (or element of the narrative) concluded, and another began. In the predominantly image based sources, I annotated parts of the source, particularly where more than one image is used, to indicate where one episode ends, and another begins. Using the headings in the table for guidance, I filled in the first three information columns on a source, then filled in the last three columns, taking each episode within the narrative individually, creating separate rows for each episode. I used printed copies of the table, and made notes in the columns by hand.

The secondary analysis stage began at the end of analysing each of the episodes in a source. Using a blank copy of the analysis table, and by examining the information I had recorded on each episode in the narratives, synthesised the data on the objects, values and narratives most frequently occurring, or most important to the overall narrative presented in the source. This synthesised data is presented in Appendix 1.

By recording the data from the visual content alongside the text content, in the same document both text and image were analysed collectively. The textual and visual content are all operating as part of the same document to discursively construct female drinking practices, with the purpose of shaping the drinking practices of women who observe them. Therefore, to gain a clear understanding of the overall narrative presented in the source, it is more meaningful to analyse both types of material alongside each other, in the same document.

Once the secondary data analysis table was completed, a third stage of analysis, in which the content of the secondary data analysis table was examined, to draw together emergent themes from each source. This process involved using A3 sheets of paper and marker pens. I noted a major theme from one source, then looked for more occurrences of that theme in all the other sources, noting the title of each source under the theme heading. I did this until all instances of the theme had been identified. I then looked for other major themes in the source, and compared all the other sources to identify other occurrences of this theme. Once I had examined all the themes in this first source, I moved onto another source, following the same comparative process. This process was laborious, but it ensured that all the themes presented in each source had been identified, and occurrences of the theme were identified in the rest of the sources. This tertiary stage of analysis generated nearly 100 theme titles. By going back to the original sources, and looking at how the theme was presented in the narratives, some similarities in the use of the themes emerged, enabling themes to be grouped together under a broad thematic heading.

Through comparing the data at the third stage of analysis, in which the themes identified in the document from the secondary analysis stage, with the primary data analysis (directly on the sources) I was able to check if the overarching theme headings were a valid representation of the data presented in the sources. In cases where the themes did not accurately reflect the content of the sources, I considered if the themes needed to be amended, or if the sources fitted into that theme, or should be omitted from that heading. This enabled a detailed check on the validity of the theme titles.

4.8 *Summary*

In this chapter, the methodological challenges of undertaking comparative historical research on women's drinking have been explored. The literature review presented how women's drinking has been constructed as a social problem, identifying how risky sexuality and levels of consumption are identified in the contemporary research. Taking account of theories presented by Nicholls (2009) and Berridge (2011) women's drinking is a historically perennial concern, and has been identified as a problem necessitating reform in Britain at various points, most notably in the Gin Pandemic.

As the research questions indicate, the intention of this study is to understand the reasons why women's drinking is understood as a social problem in two distinct time periods, and to understand the techniques used to shape women's drinking conduct by alcohol regulation campaigns. The materials selected feature both text and visual, therefore the selection of an analysis framework in which both types of content could be analysed without separating these elements was imperative. The toolkit for data analysis also had to work on the content from both time periods. The method of narrative analysis has proved an effective framework for this study, the results of which are presented in Appendix 1, and the following chapters five and six.

Chapter 5: The Uncontrolled Woman

5.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapters, the existing body of scholarship on women's drinking in the UK has been discussed, followed by a theoretical overview of moral regulation theory. The theory review drew attention to the shortcomings of moral regulation theory, particularly that there is little explanation of method for examining the processes of moral regulation, beyond the point raised by Hunt, drawing on Foucault, that dividing practices, for example the deserving and undeserving poor, are part of the repertoire of moral regulation projects (Hunt, 1999: 8). Drawing upon Bordo's (2003) theories of the social construction of femininity through the ideology of hunger, an inductive approach to examining the materials of alcohol regulation campaigns in two distinct time periods was presented. In the next two chapters, I present the findings of this study.

Through the analysis of the alcohol regulation campaign materials, my first finding was the emergence of two distinct types of femininity. These distinct tropes present categories of woman through the objects, values and narratives associated with them. To describe these categories of femininity, I have developed the labels 'The controlled woman' and 'the uncontrolled woman'. The uncontrolled woman is used to describe the intoxicated female characters in each time period. The uncontrolled woman is presented as a social problem, putting themselves and others at risk of harm to health, safety and (most prominently) reputation. The controlled woman, conversely, describes the women presented as sober/a light drinker (due to the different aims of the alcohol regulation campaigns in each time period). This finding confirms the point raised by Hunt (1999), that dividing practices are part of the repertoire of moral regulation projects. It is significant that by finding these tropes, a key practice of historical moral regulation projects are found in both the mid-19th century and contemporary sources.

Another approach to forming these two categories could be the 'drunk' woman and the 'sober', but these labels do not account for the variation in the desirable drinking practices depicted in each time period. Although total abstinence was the aim and therefore the feminine drinking ideal in the mid-19th century, the presentation of the

abstinent woman carries many similarities with the light drinking woman in the contemporary alcohol regulation campaign materials.

The common factor of 'control' is presented through the disinterested approach to alcohol, or the absence of self-control of the drinking woman. It is reinforced through the presentation of the body and emotions of the women presented in the sources. The distinctions made between these tropes of the uncontrolled and the controlled woman will be examined in two separate chapters. Whilst the data is collected from two examples of alcohol regulation campaigns, in two distinct time periods, presenting the data chronologically would not offer as good a platform for undertaking continuous comparative analysis of the findings. The sources were examined to uncover the main objects, value structures, and typical narratives presented about the women in each source. The findings were presented in a table (see appendix 1). Further examination of these findings led to the identification of the controlled and uncontrolled woman tropes.

The uncontrolled woman trope presents the viewer with the conduct requiring regulation, and seeks to persuade the viewer that such conduct will have significant negative impacts upon women who become intoxicated. Conversely, the controlled woman is presented through objects associated with her, values attributed to her actions, and narrative formations which affirm to the viewer/reader the correctness of her conduct.

In this chapter, I will explore the findings on 'the uncontrolled woman' category. Through detailed examination of 'the uncontrolled woman', three themes have emerged. These themes encapsulate findings from both time periods, and present data concerning objects, value structures and typical narratives of 'the uncontrolled woman'. The three themes are dirt, loss and sexuality.

5.2 *Dirt*

Dirt, as a theme of alcohol regulation campaigns, is perhaps unsurprising in a study which examines sources from the mid-19th century. As Valverde (1991) notes, hygiene, and consequently, dirt, were social obsessions for moral reformers (pp 27 - 28). In this study, dirt is very prevalent in the narratives on the uncontrolled woman, in both time periods. Dirt largely features as an object in the physical surroundings of

the uncontrolled woman. However, there is considerable variation in the settings and the ways in which dirt is presented, and related to the person of the uncontrolled woman.

5.2.1 Dirt in the home

Unsurprisingly, the setting for many uncontrolled woman characters in the mid 19th century sources is the home. In the middle class ideal of female respectability, the domestic sphere was the domain of the female (Davidoff and Hall, 2007: 311). In stories about uncontrolled woman, the description of the home gives many indications of the relative wealth or poverty, moral worthiness and hygiene of the woman's character. Examining the description of the home in which an uncontrolled woman is situated within highlights references to dirt as a physical object.

In three of the 19th century Temperance tracts, 'A Highland Village' (No. 34, 1850) 'A Manchester Home' (No. 189, 1846) and 'A scene from life' (No. 154; 1846) give detailed descriptions of the home setting in which an uncontrolled woman character resides. In 'A Manchester Home', two households are described, which both occupy small rooms, evidently rented out to impoverished families. One room contains three women, two of whom we are told are drunk. The third woman, younger than the two drunk women, is tidying a room in disarray. The second room is described in greater detail:

“We will show you another home which we know well. It is a back room, and very small, dirty and repulsive to the sense of smell. There is no fire, though it is winter; there is no nurse, though a sick girl lies on a pallet of straw placed on the floor.” (A Manchester Home, 1846: pp 1 – 2)

The dirt conveys the lack of domestic care, for the hygiene of the household, reinforcing the lack of care of the absent uncontrolled woman. Along with the dirt, it is the absence of the adult female which is pertinent to the construction of the uncontrolled woman's character in this source.

Developing this theme further, in 'A Highland Village', the author draws a link between the dirt in the home of the uncontrolled woman, and the dirt in the pens where livestock are kept,

“Even the very pigs and ducks, who are generally pretty much at home in the midst of dirt, drinking and darkness seemed very anxious for some sweeping measure of sanitary reform.” (A Highland Village, 1850: 1).

The allusion that the levels of dirt in these homes is too great even for pigs, conveys to the reader an extraordinary scene. That the fishwives are residing in homes too dirty for pigs demonstrates the lower-than-human conditions which uncontrolled woman will live in.

The home is presented as the setting for the uncontrolled woman in only one source from the contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns. In this source, there are indications of dirt, albeit rather minor in comparison to the examples given above. In the Drinkaware ‘Why let good times go bad?’ series (2011) the source ‘Catching up, left behind’ presents a narrative of a young woman who has become intoxicated during pre-drinking. In the second part of the story, the uncontrolled woman is alone, all the other women she had been socialising with previously are absent. She is surrounded by the detritus of the activity in the first half of the story. This includes dirt on the table, caused by drink containers and glasses, such as wine stains. Whilst this (relatively) a minor quantity of dirt, the uncontrolled woman is constructed through the presence of dirt as an object surrounding her.

Within the sources depicting dirt in the home, it is unsurprising that other material objects and settings should be described with attention to the dirt they contain.

5.2.2 *Dirt in the street*

The location of the street for the uncontrolled woman is used to demonstrate the physical degradation of the intoxicated woman in sources from both time periods. In the mid 19th century sources, the description of the home of the uncontrolled woman is much more common than in the contemporary sources; the street is commonly presented as a location in the narratives of both time periods.

From the mid 19th century sources, four tracts featuring uncontrolled woman characters used the street as a location for part of the narrative, ‘Scenes Around Us’ (No.60, 1850), ‘Bridget Larkins’ (No. 89, 1846) ‘The craving of a drunkard,

illustrated' (No. 108, 1846) and 'The Drunken Couple' (No.34, 1846). The uncontrolled woman is described as staggering in the street, as in 'Bridget Larkins' (p. 3) and 'The craving of a drunkard' (p. 2) or as lying in the street. The instances of the uncontrolled woman lying in the street position her body in a location associated with dirt, such as, "a person was taken from the gutter (literally), and washed and clothed by the tender hand of benevolent 'abstainers'." (The craving of a drunkard, 1846; 2). The body lying in the street is also presented in 'The Drunken Couple',

"So dreadfully had the woman sunk in drunkenness, that she would lie about in the street and in the public paths in a most disgusting state, and in that condition she was repeatedly picked up and brought home in a wheelbarrow." (pp. 1 – 2).

The street is used as the location for some of the most degraded uncontrolled woman characters in the mid 19th century sources. They are all represented as on the lower rungs of the working classes, whilst there are no references to the dirty conditions of the street in tracts where the uncontrolled woman is depicted as middle class or of a respectable working class position.

The street is a commonly used location in the contemporary sources. The depiction of the uncontrolled woman in public locations reinforces contemporary ideas about problematised female drinking, that it takes place in the Night Time Economy drinking venues, and results in disorderly behaviour in public spaces. Some sources, such as 'A night to remember, or one to forget?' part of the Diageo campaign 'The choice is yours (2007/08) depict an uncontrolled woman staggering in the street, as identified in the mid 19th century sources. Furthermore, the presentation of the uncontrolled woman lying in the street is replicated in four of the contemporary sources, 'Don't turn a night out into a nightmare' (Devon and Cornwall police, 2014) and in the series by Bottletop and Safer Herefordshire, 'You wouldn't start a night like this, so why end it that way?' (2009).

The source presented on the following page (Picture 1) is typical of the Bottletop campaign from 2009. The three posters produced for this campaign all depict an uncontrolled woman sitting or sprawling in the street. They are presented as lying, sprawling or sitting on the pavements or in the gutters. In the example presented below, the positioning of the uncontrolled woman, sitting, slumped forwards, feet

apart and in awkward positions, demonstrates the intoxication of the uncontrolled woman. The location of her body, adjacent to an air vent, a large rubbish bag, and an overturned bottle, serves to reinforce to the viewer that the environment which intoxication has caused this woman to be placed in is dirty.

Dirt in the street acts to reinforce the degradation of character for the uncontrolled woman.



Picture 1: Bottletop and Safer Herefordshire partnership, 2009;

<http://www.bottletop.info/posters/>

The second public location which uncontrolled women are situated in or near is the public house or bar. These locations can be presented as places of glamour and style, but for the uncontrolled woman, it is the presence of dirt in these locations which is associated with them in the narratives.

5.2.3 *Dirt in the public house/bar*

There are no episodes in the narratives in the mid 19th century sources which take place within a public house, when the episode is relating the story of an uncontrolled

woman. Whilst evidence from the period tells us that women, especially working class women, did enter public houses and beer shops to drink (The Moral Reformer, No. 8; February 24th 1838) the argument put forward by Gutzke (2014) that women obtained alcohol from ‘Jug and Bottle departments’ (p. 17) would suggest that women’s drinking took place in the street, as well as in public houses.

However, there are episodes which describe uncontrolled woman characters in the vicinity of pubs, or refer to their use of them, as in Bridget Larkins, “So here goes my last penny for half a naggin; sure the publicans won’t give me credit any longer.” (1846, p 3). In A Highland Village (1850), the public house, noted by the author as the first building encountered after getting off the boat to the isolated community, is a location in which male violence takes place (p. 1). The uncontrolled women characters in the narratives are described as drinking in each other’s houses, but they obtain their drink from the publican, running up considerable debts (p. 1.) which suggests interaction with the public house to some extent.

It may be that the dominance of the ideology of the separate spheres shaped the perceptions of the authors of these temperance tracts; that even uncontrolled women perform their actions in the street and the home, yet a woman getting drunk in a public house or beer shop is unimaginable for the middle-class author and reader.

The descriptions of a public house, in the vicinity of an uncontrolled woman, is described in ‘Scenes around us’ (1850) a tract in which a respectable woman notes the observations she makes one October evening on a short walk in the industrial town she lives in. Following shortly after a description of an uncontrolled woman, the author describes how,

“my eyes were ever and anon turned aside to the door of some public-house or beer-shop, with which our streets abound, belching out its pestiferous fumes and unsightly inmates, insulting and annoying every sense – seeing, hearing, smelling, feeling, and even tasting” (p. 2)

The disgust invoked by the author presents the public house as a place of dirt, generating smells, sights and sounds which repulse the passerby.

In the contemporary sources, the public house or bar is presented with a sense of ambivalence to the premises. In many cases, such as in the Drinkaware campaign (2011) *Why let good times go bad?* The bar is presented as the location of controlled woman characters, emphasising glamour and value placed on occupying this location. However, there are examples when the bar is the place of the uncontrolled women, and in these narratives, the dirt in the location is emphasised. In three of the sources, this location is the toilets of the bar.

One example of the dirt in a pub is the Drinkaware campaign (2011) 'Dance floor-toilet floor'. In this source, a young woman features in two narratives, one in which she is a controlled woman, and a second in which she is uncontrolled. In the uncontrolled woman narrative, the woman is slumped beside a toilet, leaning on the toilet seat. Various items of rubbish are on the toilet floor, including toilet paper and a toilet roll inner tube, which affirm the narrative of the uncontrolled woman that she is surrounded by dirt, and has become sick through drinking. Consideration of body fluids as dirt in the sources will be discussed further on.

In the source 'Dance floor, toilet floor', one noticeable detail is that the uncontrolled woman narrative has disarranged clothing and hair. The role of dirt on apparel and in hair is a prominent aspect of the construction of the uncontrolled woman.

5.2.4 Dirty clothes, dirty hair

Dirt in the clothes and hair of the uncontrolled woman is presented in several sources in each time period. There are fewer instances of detailed depiction of dirty clothes in the contemporary sources, but many references to torn clothing. The topic of torn or lost clothing will be discussed under the theme of 'loss'.

The presence of dirt on the clothing of the uncontrolled woman in the mid-19th century sources is used in narratives where the poorest and most degraded uncontrolled women are presented. In 'A Highland Village' No. 34 (1850) the uncontrolled women are presented in hovel cottages (as discussed in part 1.1). However, the extent of their degradation extends to the clothing of their children,

“Begrimed with reek and dirt, slatternly, ragged, barelegged, stunted in their growth, and shrivelled in their looks, and terribly sun-burnt withal, outward appearance is but too sad an index of the darkness which rests upon their youthful minds, and the oppressive influences which crush, at the very entrance of life, the energies of the soul.” (p. 1)

The dirt encasing the bodies and clothes of the children described here is the outcome of the lack of feminine maternal care by the uncontrolled woman. The uncontrolled woman fails at performing the core practice of femininity in middle-class gender ideology. By drawing on the animalistic conditions of the hovel dwellings, and the failure of maternal care, the uncontrolled woman in this source is rendered ‘unnatural’.

This theme is developed further in descriptions of the dirt on women’s clothes and hair in another source, ‘A scene from life’, (No. 154, 1846). In this account of the slum dwelling of a drinking artisan and his family, the source contains descriptions of two uncontrolled women, the wife of the artisan, and his adult daughter. The wife is encountered at the door:

“His tap at the door was answered by a woman whose dirty, bloated look too plainly showed that she was a victim of intemperance. This horrible vice had robbed her of all that was pleasing or woman-like in appearance;” (p. 2)

The affirmation of dirt and loss of femininity is made in the description of the adult daughter;

“No words could describe her appearance. Brought up in poverty and drunkenness, she had evidently no desire for anything better; she had lost all self-respect –all the delicacy of feeling natural to her sex and found in every grade of her society, except where long habits of vice has destroyed it. She was dressed in a few filthy rags, covered with a torn coat;” (p.3)

The role of dirty clothes is to present the uncontrolled woman as a being who has lost their ‘natural’ feminine traits. The final source in which an uncontrolled woman who is presented in a state of severe degradation is in ‘Scenes around us’ (No. 60, 1846).

In this source, dirt is depicted on the clothes and hair of the uncontrolled woman:

“But what comes next? A drunken woman! What blot upon creation so foul! Look at her haggard countenance, her bleared eye, her tangled hair, and then behold her apparel: see that cap filthy and half stripped of its border, that gown tattered and torn, those shoes slipshod, and stockings loose: if there is a loathsome, disgusting sight on earth, it is a drunken woman.” (pp 1-2)

The emphasis on the revulsion of the visible presence of the uncontrolled woman in this source presents the reader with no doubt that the uncontrolled woman is a social problem. The disarranged hair and dirt on her cap serve to present a failure to present any of the norms of femininity expected from the viewpoint dominated by middle class gender ideology.

This expression of failure to present norms of femininity is also found in the contemporary sources. This is through dirt in the form of body fluids.

5.2.5 *Body fluids as dirt*

In the campaign ‘Play your night right’ series by Drinkaware (2010) source ‘#3 The Puker’ (see picture 2) the uncontrolled woman is presented with ‘vomit’ in her tangled hair, which is partially covering her face. Furthermore, the ‘top trumps’ style text states that she has stained 41% of her clothing.



Picture 2:
Drinkaware,
Play your
night right,

#3 The Puker, 2010, <https://www.behance.net/gallery/731926/Drinkaware-Play-Your-Night-Right>

This type of dirt is not the ingrained dirt of the living conditions of the uncontrolled woman, as presented in the mid-19th century sources, but dirt as a short term consequence of intoxication. The text contained in the source tells us that the ‘Shame Level’ of the vomiting woman is ‘9’, implying that the uncontrolled woman should experience shame as a consequence of the dirt on their hair and clothes. This is also the consequence presented in the source ‘When you drink too much another takes over’; (2010) by NHS Birmingham, in the ‘Who is in control’ campaign. In this source, two identical women are presented, one looking at the viewer, the second looking with downcast eyes towards the floor. The text in the source asks which woman became intoxicated and “*wet herself on the bus?*” The outcome of the dirt, in the form of urine, is presented as shame.

In the contemporary sources, dirty clothes and hair are a short term outcome of intoxication for the uncontrolled woman, with a continuous emotional outcome of shame. The significant difference between the uncontrolled woman depicted in the two time periods is that the 19th century women are of the lowest strata of the working class, residing in small, cramped homes, with few clothes or possessions on their bodies. In the contemporary sources, the women are depicted in the ‘controlled’ state as clean, well dressed and attractive. Their encounter with dirt is short term; however it affirms a loss of femininity through the association with dirt. This loss of femininity is perhaps not as complex as that described in the mid-19th century sources, as no references to loss of maternal care performance are made in the contemporary sources.

The role of dirt, as an object in the sources in which uncontrolled women are presented, is to draw attention to the ‘unnaturalness’ of the locations, apparel and state of bodily cleanliness of the uncontrolled woman. That she is willing to live in levels of dirt that are described as animalistic, that she is found to lie in gutters and on pavements among dirt, that she shows a lack of feminine care for her clothes, the clothes of her children, or for her appearance, all serve to reinforce the ways in which the uncontrolled woman is in discord with normative feminine practices and values. It demonstrates the failure of character of the uncontrolled woman.

As mentioned in section 1.4, many of the detailed representations of the clothes of uncontrolled women focus on the loss of or damage to clothing and apparel. This fits under the theme of loss, which is a theme encapsulating both objects and values, which are presented in the data in both time periods.

5.3 *Loss*

Loss is a surprisingly flexible theme in that it encapsulates both the loss of physical objects, such as shoes, and of intangible values and beliefs. As such, the loss of values in the individual uncontrolled woman, whether through self perception or the perception of others, can have tangible outcomes, such as the loss of relationships, employment or home. As explored in the previous section, the objects associated with the uncontrolled woman are pertinent to the construction of the character. The sources show us that not only do uncontrolled women experience dirt in their clothes and in their homes, but that loss of objects in their stories is a frequent part of the narratives.

In this section, I will discuss the instances of loss of apparel in the sources on the uncontrolled woman. This is an aspect common to both time periods, however in the mid 19th century sources, instances of loss of furniture are far more frequent than loss of apparel. The prevalence of loss of furniture for the uncontrolled woman can be linked to the frequency of the home as part of the narratives on the uncontrolled woman.

More complex, less tangible losses are also explored in the sources. The loss of health is an outcome of the uncontrolled woman in the narratives contained in the mid 19th century sources, whereas in the contemporary sources, loss of health is presented as a short term outcome of intoxication. The comparative use of loss of health as a long term or short term consequence for the uncontrolled woman may in part be due to the more complex stories presented in the mid 19th century sources. Furthermore, the mid-19th century sources present loss of liberty as an outcome for the uncontrolled woman.

The final sub theme discussed in this section will be on the loss of respectability; respectability is an intangible outcome for the uncontrolled woman, however it is presented as producing very tangible effects in the narratives. This sub theme is explored through three distinct approaches identified in the sources. In the mid-19th century sources, a strong emphasis is placed on the social class of the uncontrolled woman, which shapes the trajectory of the narratives on loss of respectability considerably. No such distinctions can be made about the uncontrolled women in the contemporary sources. In the contemporary sources, loss of sexual respectability is the most pertinent element in the presentation of loss of respectability. The emphasis on loss of sexual respectability is present in the mid-19th century sources, but is an infrequent occurrence, compared with the general shaming of the uncontrolled woman who has experienced loss of respectability.

5.3.1 Loss of apparel

The loss of clothing and shoes is a common theme in the sources presenting the uncontrolled woman. In the mid-19th century sources, it is related to characters who are among the lowest of the working classes, both in terms of economic and social position. The loss of shoes or a shawl are a visible sign of destitution, as exemplified in the source ‘Saturday night’, No. 79 (850), a female child asks her father, who she meets exiting the pub, when she can have her shoes back from the pawnbroker, so that she might attend church the following day (p.1). The loss of shoes is a marker that the child lacks the signs of respectability to participate in the same activities as other respectable people.

Loss of apparel, which is linked to the loss of the outward signs of respectability for uncontrolled women, is described in the sources ‘A scene from life’ (No. 154, 1846) and ‘The Manchester go-a-heads’, (No. 148, 1846). In the latter source, several teetotaller women describe their experiences, some of which involve times in their lives when they fitted the description of an ‘uncontrolled woman’. One reformed drunkard, Mrs. Haslam, recalls,

“I scarcely had a rag to my back when I signed.” (p. 2)

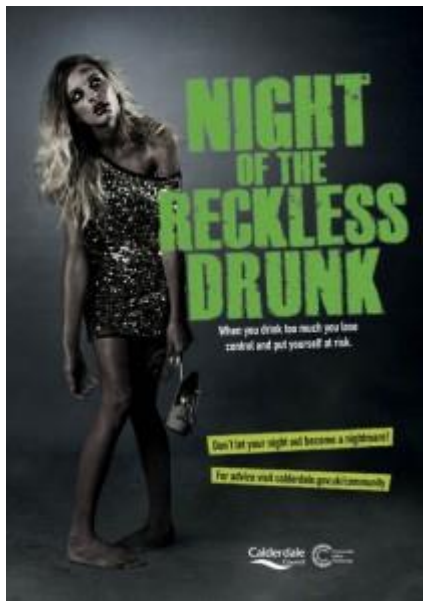
The loss of clothing for an uncontrolled woman appears to raise barriers to 'passing as respectable' in public spaces, as in Bridget Larkins, No. 89 (1846) Bridget's loss of respectability leads to verbal harassment by children when she is in the streets (p.3).

Loss of apparel in the contemporary sources is presented in two strands; the loss of clothing fully covering the body, and the loss of shoes. The first strand is identified in two of the sources, 'Don't turn a night out into a nightmare' (Devon and Cornwall police, 2014) and 'Don't let a night full of promise turn into a morning full of regret' (West Mercia Police, 2012). Both sources present two narratives, one in which the female character is presented as a controlled woman. They are depicted as smiling, and are shown in a standing, upright position. The second narratives show the same woman as an uncontrolled woman, with the body positioned sitting or lying on the floor. The clothing of both uncontrolled women is disarranged, with the fabric which should cover the legs pushed up the leg, to expose the upper leg. In each source, the text describes what outcome the uncontrolled woman is experiencing as a consequence of intoxication. In the source 'Don't let a night out turn into a nightmare', the text states 'Alcohol – know when to stop', relating the loss of clothing fully covering the legs of the uncontrolled woman as a demonstration of incapacity, brought about by the drinking behaviour of the uncontrolled woman.

However, in the source 'Don't let a night full of promise turn into a morning full of regret' the text associated with the uncontrolled woman states that intoxication can result in unwanted sex, or rape. The loss of clothing covering the body indicates the incapacity of the uncontrolled woman to prevent unwanted sex, or a crime being committed, again with the emphasis on the drinking behaviour of the uncontrolled woman as the cause.

In addition to the loss of clothing covering the body, this source also contains the second strand of loss of apparel in the narratives on uncontrolled woman, the loss of shoes. In the source discussed above, the bare foot is presented, in two other sources, the loss of a single shoe is depicted on women who are standing, but are staggering, or walking with assistance from another woman, as seen in the Diageo campaign 'A night to remember, or one to forget?' (2007/08).

In the campaign by Calderdale council – festive season campaign, titled ‘Night of the reckless drunk’ (2013) the uncontrolled woman, with clothing, hair and makeup in disarray, staggers forwards (see picture 3).



Picture 3: Night of the reckless drunk, Calderdale council festive season campaign, 2013. <http://uk.adforum.com/creative-work/ad/player/34482807>

In this source, the bare feet and single shoe, held by its strap, by the ‘zombie drunk’, reaffirms all the other visible markers of incapacity of the uncontrolled woman. The loss of shoes demonstrates a loss of control over the body. It fits well with existing contemporary social narratives presented in the media, particularly when reporting the activities of charitable organisations handing out flip flops to young women late at night in urban areas (<http://www.streetpastors.org/street-pastors-flip-flops/>, accessed 30/10/15). The purpose of this activity is to prevent women cutting their feet after removing painful shoes, however as the sources have demonstrated, the loss of shoes for the uncontrolled woman projects ideas about the values attached to their actions.

The loss of apparel demonstrates a lack of control by the uncontrolled woman. In the mid-19th century sources, the loss of respectable clothing acts as a barrier to passing in public without censure or aggression. In the contemporary sources, loss of apparel demonstrates loss of control of the body, with outcomes of looking unattractive, lacking feminine poise, to extreme outcomes such as being a victim of rape. This theme is more prominent in the contemporary sources, with a much greater focus on

loss of furniture as the loss of material goods in the sources on uncontrolled women from the mid-19th century.

5.3.2 *Loss of furniture*

This sub theme is only present in the mid-19th century sources, but its prevalence in the sources is such that it is worthy of inclusion in the analysis. The loss of furniture features in six sources in which uncontrolled women are presented, ‘Is I not happy? An interesting account of a very poor old woman’ (No. 32, 1846) ‘A scene from life’ (No. 154, 1846), ‘The reformed shoemaker, or: I will if you will’ (No. 171, 1846) ‘The Manchester go-a-heads’ (No. 148, 1846) ‘The drunken couple’ (No.34, 1846) and ‘A Manchester Home’ (No. 189, 1846). Loss of furniture is a common factor in sources featuring controlled women, when they are the impoverished victims of male drinking, in five of the sources. This theme, in relation to the controlled woman, will be discussed in the next chapter.

The loss of furniture is a sub theme presented in the narratives on nearly destitute uncontrolled women. All but one of these sources present the women as living with a partner and lacking in items of furniture other than a bed, such as in the testimony in ‘The Manchester go-a-heads’ (1846; p. 3) and ‘The reformed shoemaker’.

A more detailed description of the loss of furniture is presented in the source, ‘Is I not happy? An interesting account of a very poor old woman’ No. 32 (1846), the only source where the uncontrolled woman character is presented as a single, woman, described as very old at the age of 60:

The season of the year being inclement, the poor woman, when she went away, caught a rheumatic fever. I was sent for to see her; and when I entered the cellar, I was struck with the whole appearance. The only article in the place, besides the bed, was a three legged stool. (p.2)

The loss of furniture for the uncontrolled woman is pertinent to the construction of her character as failing to meet the norms of femininity in this period. The presentation of the ‘hovel’ dwelling, be that a cottage in a rural village, or a cellar in an urban setting, as lacking in furniture, demonstrates a lack of capacity to maintain the material

objects for respectable living. The loss of furniture reflects the loss of respectability which is pertinent to the construction of the uncontrolled woman.

This source presents another sub theme of loss, the loss of health. Loss of health is repeated in many of the sources from both time periods, but its application varies considerably.

5.3.3 *Loss of health*

The loss of health is a significantly more prevalent theme in the mid-19th century sources, covering the loss of both physical and mental health in the uncontrolled woman. For some uncontrolled women, such as in 'Is I not happy? An interesting account of a very poor old woman' No. 32 (1846), loss of health is a short term outcome of their poverty and drinking behaviour, from which they are redeemed, maintaining good health through abstinence from then on. In other cases, loss of health is a totalising outcome, resulting in loss of mental capacity, and often, death.

The first stage of loss of health in the uncontrolled woman is often presented through remarks about her face, such as in 'Strong drink in the house' No. 39: 1850:

Mrs. Peters I saw less and less. She was seldom well enough to be seen. Mr Peters seemed not to care for many inquiries about her; and there was a veil of mystery which hung over her illness. One day I was admitted the parlour. She was present, and complained of her head. Her countenance, which used to be pale, was much flushed. (p. 3)

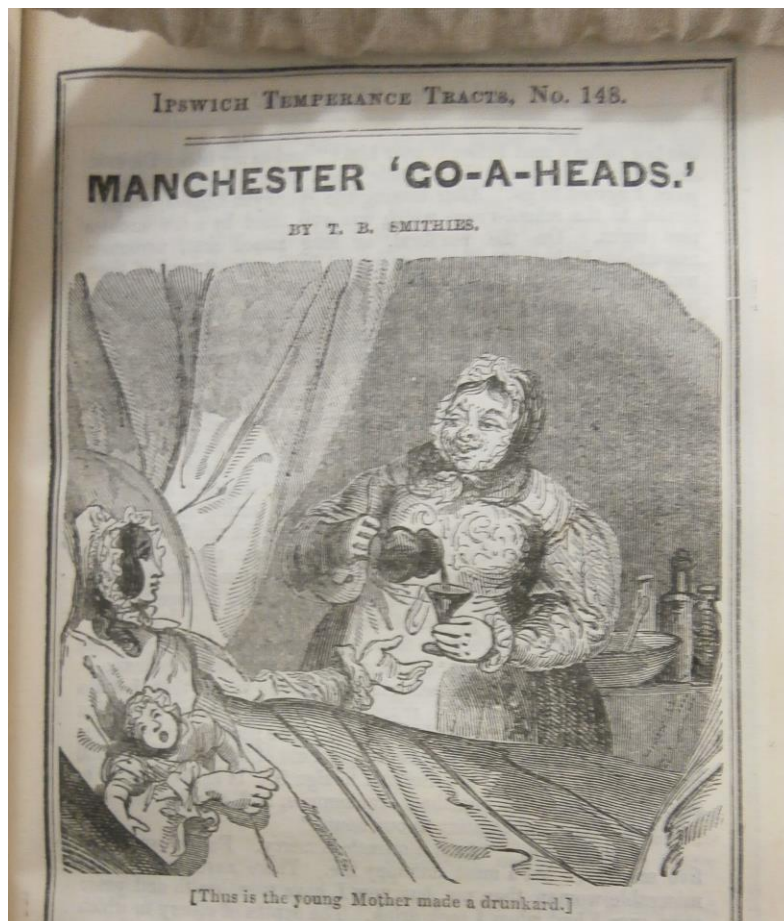
The indications that the loss of health, as an outcome of the drinking behaviour of Mrs. Peters, are through her absence in the social encounters with friends and neighbours, her complaints about her headache and the flushing of her face. The flushing of the face is also present in discussions on loss of health of an uncontrolled woman in 'Take a public house' No. 43 (1846; 3) and in 'The victim of excitement' No. 78 (1846). The description of the face of the uncontrolled woman is given extensive attention in 'The victim of excitement', drawing greater attention to the link between the loss of health and loss of femininity:

The fine, intelligent face of Mrs. Manly had lost much of its delicacy of outline, and her cheek, that formerly was pale or roseate, as sensibility or

enthusiasm ruled the hour, now wore a stationary glow, deeper than the blush of feminine modesty, less bright than the carnation of health. (p.9)

The visibility of the change in the face of Mrs. Manly, is presented as evidence of her loss of feminine health. She is no longer visibly demonstrates delicacy, paleness or feminine modesty, but her flushed face is not a symbol of health.

The loss of physical health, as presented through the description of the face, also features in the visual material contained in the mid-19th century sources. Picture 4 is of an illustration repeated in other tracts, concerning the importance of temperance for children. Nonetheless, this illustration presents the outcome of loss of health for the uncontrolled woman as visible in her face.



Picture 4: Manchester 'Go-A-Heads', No, 148. Ipswich Temperance Tracts Vol. 2, 1846.

This illustration reproduces many of the visual clues of loss of health in an uncontrolled woman, as presented in 'The victim of excitement'. The nursemaid has a

rounder face, with larger features, than the new mother lying in bed. The shading around her cheeks and enlarged nose present the ‘unnatural flush’ described in the sources above. These sources demonstrate how loss of health is first visible through loss of feminine attractiveness in the face of the uncontrolled woman.

The loss of health of the uncontrolled woman in the mid 19th century sources does not end with the visible effects on the face. In three sources, ‘Take a public house’ (No. 43, 1846), ‘The craving of a drunkard, Illustrated’ (No. 108, 1846) and ‘Strong drink in the house’ (No. 39, 1850) the decline in health leads the uncontrolled woman from visible signs on the face to loss of mental health. In ‘Strong drink in the house’ Mrs. Peters is described as a wreck, and rumours circulate that she will be admitted to a lunatic asylum. This is indeed the outcome, and the next step on the seemingly inevitable conclusion of her sudden death (pp. 3- 4).

This path is also followed in ‘The victim of Excitement’ No. 78 (1846). The story of Anne Manly (nee Weston) follows a trajectory of tragedy because of her propensity to drink. Her marriage is an unhappy one, solely because of her drinking. Following a fatal accident involving her child when Anne is drunk, Anne progresses towards death, experiencing physical and mental pain:

It was a dark and tempestuous night. The winds of autumn swept against the windows, with the mournful rustle of the withered leaves, fluttering in the blast: the sky was moonless and starless. Every thing abroad presented an aspect of gloom and desolation. It was on this night that Manly sat by the dying couch of Anne. Every one is familiar with the rapid progress of disease, when it attacks the votary of intemperance. The burning blood soon withers up the veins: the fountain itself becomes dry. Here she lay, her frame tortured with the agonies of approaching dissolution, and her spirit strong and clear from the mists that had so long and so fatally obscured it. (p. 20)

The typical narratives in this source are much more dramatic than in the other examples found in the mid 19th century sources. However the decline in physical and mental health, starting with a loss of health is signified by changes to the face of the uncontrolled woman. This is typical to the other narratives contained in the sources.

Only one source among the contemporary campaign materials examines loss of health for the uncontrolled woman. Some sources, such as ‘Dance floor, toilet floor’ (2011) and the source presented in picture 3, ‘#3 The Puker’ do present scenarios where

vomiting is the outcome of intoxication. However the purpose is not so much to demonstrate loss of health, but to shame the uncontrolled woman for her loss of feminine attractiveness.

In the source from the Bottletop Safer Herefordshire partnership, 'How will your night end? A trip to hospital?' the uncontrolled woman is presented in three scenes, starting with socialising with friends whilst consuming alcohol in a pub. The second scene shows the young woman slumped, eyes closed, beside the sinks in a pub toilet. Her friend is attempting to wake her, and in the third scene we see the uncontrolled woman is still unconscious, and her friend is using her mobile phone to make a call. From the tagline/title, we deduce that it is to call an ambulance. The uncontrolled woman's loss of consciousness here is presented as a loss of health that she is going to hospital for treatment. Unlike in the mid 19th century sources, we are not told of the specific impacts on her health of intoxication, and no emphasis is placed on the visible effects of intoxication on her face.

The relative inattention to loss of health for the uncontrolled women in contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns points to a narrowing of the focus on outcomes of intoxication, especially when compared with the mid-19th century regulation campaign materials. However, similarities in the construction of the uncontrolled women from both time periods show that the uncontrolled woman is transgressing the norms of femininity which value poise, respectability and attractiveness.

There is a further theme which does not emerge in the contemporary sources, but is worthy of note in the mid-19th century sources, the loss of freedom.

5.3.4 Loss of freedom

Loss of freedom is presented in three sources from the mid-19th century. In Bridget Larkins, No. 89 (1846) and 'Prize tracts, No. X – A word to females' No. 10 (1850) the uncontrolled woman is subject to loss of freedom through imprisonment. Bridget Larkins, we are told,

“was frequently committed for acts of violence; so frequently, that it was suggested to her that continuing business at all was useless, for she was no sooner out of jail than she was in again.” (p. 2)

Bridget’s violent behaviour when intoxicated is contrary to the character she presents whilst sober, which at this point in the story, is when she is in prison. The source presents Bridget’s loss of freedom as high points at this part of her story, as she is described:

“When in prison, she was a perfect treasure to the turnkeys and prisoners; there she could not obtain whisky; and her energy and kindness found an ample field for exercise.”

Imprisonment brings a loss of freedom, but an opportunity for Bridget to regain control over her drinking, and demonstrate all of her feminine virtues. In the source ‘Prize tracts’ the discussion of the tragedy of the uncontrolled woman, referred to as ‘slaves of intemperance’ includes phrases on prisons:

“If we visit our police stations, our houses of correction, our gaols, we will find that female culprits, through drunkenness, are nearly as numerous as those of the other sex.” (p.2)

Rather than focus on the individual story, here it is the numerousness of female drinkers in prisons which attracts attention. The prevalence of uncontrolled women who have lost their freedom shows that drinking alcohol causes women to commit offences, going against the norms of femininity.

The other reference to loss of freedom comes in the form of the asylum. In ‘Strong drink in the house’ No. 39 (1850) we are told that Mrs. Peter’s drinking leads to her entering the asylum, then concludes her story with her death. Perhaps the most striking difference between the characters described in the two sources above, who lose freedom through conviction as an offender, and Mrs. Peters, is the distinction of social class. There is no expectation that a middle class, formally respectable woman like Mrs. Peters could end her story as an offender, but the need to present the uncontrolled woman as losing her respectability, feminine attractiveness and freedom for middle class characters makes the asylum a useful object in the narratives.

5.3.5 *Loss of respectability*

The loss of respectability is a dominant theme running through the narratives in both time periods. However, there are considerable differences in how respectability is portrayed, with contrasts between the time periods, and in the mid-19th century sources, where social class is pertinent to the portrayal of respectability for the uncontrolled woman.

The mid-19th century sources which examine the actions of the uncontrolled women feature relatively few middle-class women. Whilst many sources directly address middle-class female readers, such as in 'Address to females' (No. 131, 1846) the majority of uncontrolled characters are working class, impoverished and destitute women. Such women, we are told, are to be pitied, visited and improved by the superior morals of the middle class controlled woman. Whilst this appears to be a process of 'othering' the uncontrolled woman for the middle class reader, in sources such as 'Scenes around us' No. 60 (1850) the reader is warned about their own low to moderate alcohol consumption, drawing links between the 'unfortunate, fallen woman' and the drinking practices of the respectable middle class female reader.

Extending the links between the presumed respectable middle class reader and the uncontrolled women who feature in the sources, four of the tracts do feature stories of middle class uncontrolled women. These are 'The Victim of Excitement' (No. 78, 1846); 'Strong drink in the house' (No. 39, 1850); 'Take a public house' (No. 43, 1846) and 'Prize tracts no. XL – The traffic in intoxicating liquors' (No. 11, 1850). There are distinctions to be made between the middle class women in these four sources, as in 'The victim of excitement', the uncontrolled woman, Anne Manly, Nee Weston, is an American heiress. In a similar social position, but perhaps lacking the wealth of Anne Manly is Mrs Peters in 'Strong drink in the house', the respectable wife of Mr. Peters, a man of no occupation but with income sufficient to provide for a respectable household. In 'Take a public house' an un-named man purchases a public house, and makes a successful business of it, before his un-named wife is presented as an uncontrolled woman, and he is financially ruined. 'Prize tracts' also examines the role of the publican's wife. Publicans wives are considerably less respectable than the

heiresses or spouses of men with a private income, but their stories are distinctly different to those of the impoverished working class women in other tracts.

The common factor in the loss of respectability for middle-class uncontrolled women is the visibility of their behaviour to others in their social circle. The reputation of Mrs Manly, for example, is subject of discussion by servants, and close intimates in her circle of friends (p. 8). However, the total loss of reputation comes after Anne relapses by tasting brandy purchased for the use of the cook to bake a cake. Anne is compelled by the cook to taste the brandy, to check it is acceptable. Anne becomes drunk, sleeps it off in bed, and then wakes with a hangover as her guests for a party arrive:

What was to be done? She would have pleaded sudden indisposition, but the fear that the servants would reveal the truth, the hope of being able to rally her spirits, determined her to descend into the drawing-room. She called for a glass of cordial, kindled up a smile of welcome, and descended to perform the honours of her household. There was something so unnatural in her countenance, so over-strained in her manner, and so extravagant in her conversation, it was impossible for the company not to be aware of her situation. Silent glances were exchanged; low whispers passed round; (p. 16)

The sudden awareness of the intoxication of Anne is noted by her friends, and at this moment the reputation as an excellent hostess, and respectable woman, is lost forever. Anne is presented from the beginning as not quite ideal in her femininity, that she is intelligent, vivacious, engaging and attractive to such an extent that she is not an ideal wife, as Anne states:

The very qualities that won my admiration, and determined me to fix his regard, now cause me trouble. I have been too much accustomed to self-indulgence to bear restraint, and should it be ever imposed by a master's hand, my rebellious spirit would break the bonds of duty, and assert its independence. I fear I am not formed to be a happy wife, or to constitute the happiness of a husband. I live too much on excitement. (p. 6)

Anne's self critique of her character, that she may not be passive enough to be a happy wife, is part of the creation of the character as an uncontrolled woman. She lacks the traits of ideal femininity which make the confined domestic world tolerable.

In the construction of Anne as an uncontrolled woman, the topic of her 'natural/unnatural spirits' comes up throughout the story. This phrase is used interchangeably with character, and is an important aspect in the construction of loss

of respectability. Respectability is the value placed on beliefs and practices within a social context; however the cause of the practices which brings about loss of respectability is the unnatural character of Anne.

The narratives on Mrs Peters, in 'Strong drink in the house' No. 39 (1850) are less dramatic than those on Anne Manly, but the public awareness of her drinking that renders the acquaintances of Mr Peters to cease speaking Mrs Peters name in public, and her withdrawal from society (p. 3). The loss of respectability which comes with the awareness of Mrs Peters drinking is a source of shame to Mr Peters, and the cause of Mrs Peters drinking is laid with Mr Peters refusal to stop keeping and serving alcohol in his home. Ultimately, the loss of reputation of Anne and Mrs Peters precedes their descent into mental and physical decline, and death.

In the two other sources which present uncontrolled women who occupy a position of relative economic and social prosperity, the wives of publicans suffer a loss of reputation because of their association with the bad characters who use public houses:

Any woman thus engaged, who is not grieved and wounded with the horrible language and the obscene sights which she witnesses, and does not wish to escape from it, whatever may be her wealth – her outward demeanour, or her common reputation, is not a virtuous woman. If she were such on beginning the trade, she is not so now. ('Prize tracts no. XL – The traffic in intoxicating liquors' No. 11, 1850: 3)

The uncontrolled woman, if she is not such a person because of her unnatural character, will be made an uncontrolled woman by her living and working environment of the public house, according to this tract. This source reaffirms the gender ideology of separate spheres as conducive to supporting the feminine ideal of domesticity, passivity and abstinence.

The assertion in the tract discussed above is affirmed by the narratives in 'Take a public house' (No. 43, 1846) in which the unnamed wife is described as taking a "lively interest" (p.2) in the management of the bar. This enthusiasm appears to be caused by her unnatural character, in that the unnamed husband becomes aware of her consumption of brandy. The unnamed husband recalls,

Her excess began to be observed. None are more careless than those who use liquor in what is called moderation, of the feelings of the intemperate. The subject formed a theme of mockery, in the parlour and tap-room. (p.3)

The uncontrolled woman's practices appears to be caused by the opportunity to drink, which may have remained dormant in her unnatural character if her husband had not bought a public house.

The outcome for the unnamed wife is almost as absolute as that of Anne and Mrs Peters, as her husband, who is financially ruined and is in very ill health, relates:

and then I heard that she was in a drunken state, amongst the vilest prostitutes in a brothel, at the lowest end of London! Yes! Yes! Do not look incredulous. It is all true. My much beloved companion in life is a lost, abandoned, characterless drunkard, (p. 4)

The use of the word 'characterless' is significant, as it indicates a loss of reputation beyond the tragic narratives of Anne and Mrs Peters. The propensity to drink of the unnamed wife is such that, instead of concluding her story in loss of health and death, she remains alive, but with a total loss of respectability. The consequence of an unnatural character, with the opportunity to engage in drinking, is loss of respectability.

These tracts tell particularly compelling stories, as the loss of respectability is particularly dramatic for women of middle class, respectable social positions. However, loss of respectability for working class and near-destitute women is a more prevalent theme among the mid-19th century sources.

Loss of respectability for working class women, or nearly destitute women, is presented through the narratives of shame around their failure to meet the expectations of a wife or mother through their drinking behaviour. A second strand of loss of respectability is demonstrated through acts of violence by the uncontrolled woman. As with the loss of respectability for middle class women, the visibility of uncontrolled women is pivotal to the construction of lost character for working class women.

The loss of respectability for working class uncontrolled women is often presented through lack of care for the family. Examples of lack of care for the family, which consequently leads to loss of respectability of the working class uncontrolled woman, are given in 'The Drunken Couple', (No 34, 1846) 'A scene from life', (No. 154, 1846) 'My wife won't sign' (No. 52, 1850) 'A Highland Village' (No. 34, 1850) and 'Is I not happy? An interesting account of a very poor old woman' (No 32, 1846). Neglect of children is visible through their lack of cleanliness or provision of clothing, as seen in 'Is I not happy? An interesting account of a very poor old woman':

And so abandoned was she, that she once attempted her daughter's life; and on my advice, the daughter forsook her home. A little boy who remained with her was found shivering in a state of nudity in the cellar, stripped even of his shirt, to gratify the craving of the mother for drink. Oh, mothers, see what this sin can do! It can destroy the overflowings of maternal love. (p.1)

The lack of maternal care, brought about by drinking, is used as a striking example of the loss of respectability for the uncontrolled woman. The witnessing of her taking clothing from her child to fund her drinking demonstrates the complete degradation of her character, that she does not meet the expectations of maternal care.

Loss of respectability is also presented through acts of violence by uncontrolled women in the narratives. For example, in 'A Manchester home' No. 189 (1846) after "a gentleman of evident experience and piety" (p. 1) has visited the impoverished households of drinking women, upon exiting the property, describes:

As we arrived at the street, we stopped or a minute to look on the painful spectacle of five women in a public house before us, engaged in a fight, and tearing each other's faces and hair with the utmost fury. Alas! What degradation and wretchedness had we this afternoon beheld. (p. 1)

There is clearly an element of voyeurism going on in this narrative, witnessing the degradation of uncontrolled women as a spectacle. The working class uncontrolled women are seen to commit acts of violence, which directly contradicts the feminine gender ideology of passivity, care giving and domesticity of the middle classes. The loss of respectability through violence is part of the narrative in the tract 'Bridget Larkins' No 89. (1846). Whilst Bridget is a drinker, she is considered a respectable woman, because of her character, which is described as kind and generous, fair and honest in business, and charitable to the poor (p.1). However, after consuming alcohol, we are told that,

She would stand at her stall, which was covered in the finest fish, inviting her customers in a thickened voice; and if they refused to purchase, or attempted to buy from any one else, she would utter the most violent imprecations, and hurl fish after fish against any who interfered with her business. (pp. 1 – 2)

Bridget's character, which sustains her respectability in spite of her drinking and acts of violence, which, the reader is told, lead her to frequent committals to prison. This respectability, based upon the values attributed to her character, is lost in an incident of violence against a child:

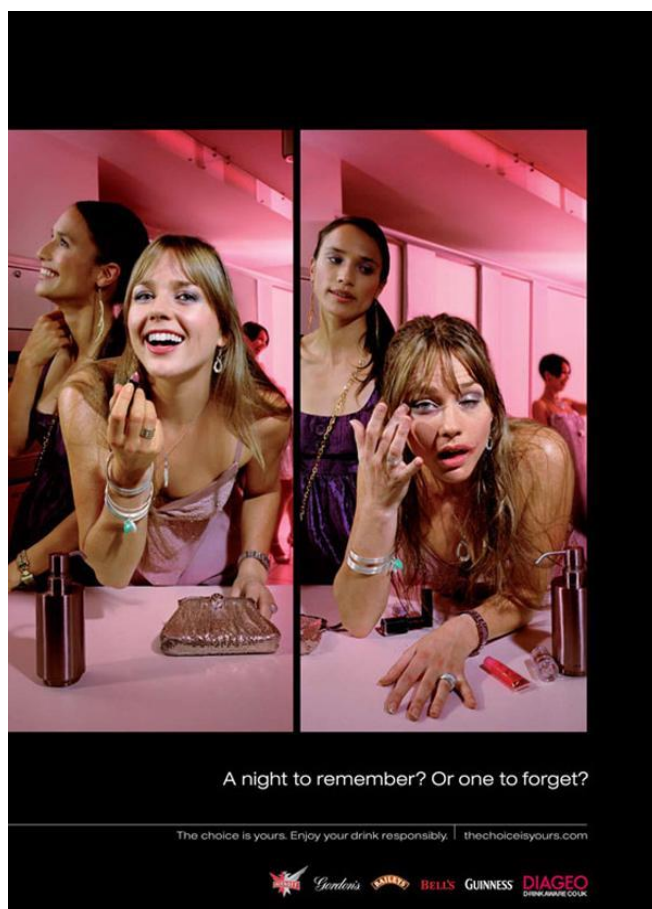
"I've done wicked things in my time," she said, "but though greatly provoked, I never riz my hand to a child." Even this solitary congratulation, this remnant of self respect, was destroyed; for in a fit of intoxication, she hurled a stone at one of her tormentors, which nearly deprived him of life. When consciousness returned, the unfortunate woman's agony was fearful to witness; she flew again to the source of her misery, and became more degraded than ever, even amid a congregation of drunkards. (p. 3)

Bridget's total loss of respectability, caused by the degradation of her character through this act of violence, brings her to a position lower than most, even among other low drinkers. Clinging onto the values of respectability, particularly that of maternal care, in the uncontrolled woman, demonstrates a desire to meet the expectations of normative femininity. However, drinking causes Bridget to act with violence, thus losing the values associated with good character, bringing about a total loss of respectability.

The construction of respectability, as a valuation of character in the eyes of others, is presented in the contemporary source materials. However, the presentation of respectability is not overtly tied to notions of social class in this material, but to feminine attractiveness.

The loss of respectability in the contemporary sources is presented through loss of poise. This is fundamentally different to the dramatic consequences of loss of respectability in the mid-19th century sources. However, the visibility of the loss of poise, leading to a judgement by 'others' of the loss of respectability of the uncontrolled woman is a core component of the narratives. The visibility of the loss of poise is evidently essential in the narratives, as incidents in which loss of respectability occurs are always in public spaces.

In seven of the contemporary sources, the visible loss of poise is one of the narratives presented to the viewer. The sources either use the loss of poise, presented as lying, slumping or sitting on pavements (You wouldn't start a night like this, Poster 1: 2009) floors (How will your night end? A trip to hospital?, 2011) or bar tables (How will your night end? Too drunk to remember?, 2011). This narrative is developed further in two of the sources, which emphasise the visibility of loss of poise, and the consequent judgement of others which constructs the loss of respectability of the uncontrolled woman. These sources are 'Laughing with you, Laughing at you' (2011) and 'A night to remember? Or one to forget? Mirror' (2007/08) – see picture 5, below.



Picture 5: 'A night to remember? Or one to forget?' Diageo 'The choice is yours' campaign, 2007/08, <http://www.coloribus.com/adsarchive/outdoor/diageo-the-choice-is-yours-11958905/>

In the source (picture 5), the narratives are presented as two comparable stories. In the narrative presented in the image to the right, we see the uncontrolled woman is leaning forward, supporting herself with an arm placed on the table adjacent to the

‘mirror’ (in the place of the camera view). The contents of her bag have spilled onto the table, and her hair is dishevelled. A second woman is looking at the uncontrolled woman, her face unsmiling, with raised eyebrows. The viewer recognises the judgement of the uncontrolled woman as having lost poise, and therefore lost feminine respectability, through her intoxication.

The role of the judging observer is also seen in ‘Laughing with you, Laughing at you’ (2011), where a woman is seen stumbling, hand partially covering her face, in a bar, with two others looking on. Observing their facial expressions, the viewer sees they are unsmiling, looking on in disgust and displeasure at the uncontrolled woman. The observer is an important aspect of the narratives in constructing loss of respectability, in the same way as the mid 19th century temperance tracts used the visible loss of character as the cause of loss of respectability for the uncontrolled woman.

The loss of respectability presents some of the intangible losses for the uncontrolled woman, but as identified in the mid 19th century sources, this loss could have tangible effects, such as loss of freedom, loss of health, and loss of relationships. Loss of respectability is bound up with ideas and ideals of female sexuality in both time periods. Sexuality is a significant theme in the data, and thus will be subject of further examination.

5.4 *Sexuality*

The sexual values and behaviour exhibited by the uncontrolled woman in the sources presents the viewer with a distinct understanding of how her femininity is failing to meet the norms and expectations of the gender ideology of the period in which the sources were produced. The uncontrolled woman exhibits a sexuality which is not ‘natural’ to the feminine character.

In the mid 19th century sources, there is only one clear reference to the uncontrolled woman and sexual acts, in ‘Take a public house’ No. 43 (1846), the uncontrolled woman is last seen living in a brothel, a clear slur on her sexual reputation, demonstrating a total loss of character as a woman. There are, however, many narratives concerning the performance of the role of wife for uncontrolled women,

examining how they fail to meet the expectations of a wife, the causes and consequences for these actions.

In the contemporary sources, the use of narratives around sex are a common feature, and are the main narrative in five of the alcohol regulation campaign materials. The representation of sex is almost always unwanted, and always presented as a consequence of the loss of control of the uncontrolled woman.

This theme will examine the presentation of sexuality in each period, demonstrating the way in which the sexuality of the uncontrolled woman is used to show how failure to perform femininity as restrained, sexually respectable, and risk averse leads to unwanted consequences. The cause of these consequences is entirely in the hands of the uncontrolled woman.

5.4.1 The 'bad wife' in the mid 19th century sources

The uncontrolled woman is presented as a bad wife in five of the sources, 'The victim of excitement' (No. 78, 1846), 'Strong drink in the house' (No. 39, 1850) 'The Drunken couple' (No. 34, 1846), 'Take a public house' (No. 43, 1846) and 'A scene from life' (No. 54, 1846). The failure to meet the expectations of a husband for an uncontrolled woman is typical in the narratives on uncontrolled women. In 'The Victim of Excitement', the failure of Anne Weston to meet Mr. Manly's expectations of a wife is described at length:

It were vain to attempt a description of the feelings of Manly when he first discovered the idol of his imagination under an influence that, in his opinion, brutalised a man. But a woman! And that woman his wife! In the agony – the madness- of the moment, he could have lifted the hand of suicide, but Emily Spencer hovered near, and held him back from the brink to which he was rushing. (p. 11)

The shock of discovering a woman, who he admired for her elegance, feminine gentleness and sensibility, with "just enough spirit and independence for a woman" (p. 4) is dependent on alcohol, produces near fatal effects on Manly. His expectations of Anne are fundamentally undermined; all of her attributes lose their appeal as he experiences shame, anger and depression. Manly endeavours to cover up her drinking, however due to the prominent position Anne occupies in their social circle, he fails.

Whilst Anne is a social success, attracting friends in the new towns they move to, Manly frequently demonstrates his disapproval of her in public. He can never be happy in her presence, because of her drinking.

The disappointment of the husband who discovers his wife is a drinker is presented in 'Take a public house' and 'Strong drink in the house'. The uncontrolled woman is a bad wife because her behaviour is shaming for the husband, because of the awareness of friends and acquaintances. In 'The drunken couple' (No. 34, 1846) and 'A scene from life' (No. 154, 1850) the uncontrolled woman and her husband are both drunkards. These two sources are different from the three previously discussed as they are very poor, living in squalid accommodation. In 'The drunken couple', we are told that the uncontrolled woman was a drinker before she married, and her continued drinking behaviour leads her husband to becoming a drunkard. She is depicted as a bad wife, her drinking behaviour contributing to the home being dirty and lacking furniture, her actions driving her husband to spend time in the public house rather than in her company. In 'A scene from life', both the husband and wife are drinkers, the wife makes some attempt to conceal a bottle of gin being brought into the house by their daughter. This infuriates the husband, that the wife is making a demonstration of modesty before the visitor, when she is as fond of drinking as he. The uncontrolled woman is a bad wife due to her contributing to the impoverishment of the household. Her attempt at showing a more respectable image to the visitor is undermined by her drunken husband pointing out to her failing as a wife.

In two further sources, the uncontrolled woman as a bad wife is presented through her failure to be the moral arbiter in the relationship through abstinence. In 'The Manchester go-a-heads;' (No. 148, 1846) the female reformed drunkards tell their stories, and two discuss how their drinking in their marriage led to unhappiness, deprivation and sin (pp1 – 2). In 'My wife won't sign' (No. 52, 1846) this theme is developed further. Following the reasons given by three men, a young tradesman, a father and a Christian minister, for not asking their wives to sign the pledge, the narratives conclude:

But what is the end of these things? A bankrupt tradesman, a broken-hearted husband and father, a renegade teetotaller, and a backsliding minister. (p. 1)

The tract develops the topic further, and following entreaties to women to recognise their role in the moral management of the household, discusses the importance of abstinence to being a good wife:

The time is coming when no man, however low his mental calibre may be, will trust his happiness in the hands of a little-drop-taking wife. (p. 2)

The uncontrolled woman can never be a good wife, as failing to sacrifice drink for the moral wellbeing of the household will never ensure the happiness of a husband.

The place of sexuality in the mid 19th century sources is very limited, with the failure to perform as a wife demonstrating how middle class gender ideology shaped narratives on respectable femininity. The separate spheres ideology influenced discourses on femininity in which sexuality was not a target for reform, but performance as a wife and mother was the target of their attentions. The lack of respectability for the uncontrolled woman means she can never be anything other than a bad wife.

5.4.2 Sexuality as 'out of control' in the contemporary sources

In the contemporary sources, sexuality is always presented as risky to the uncontrolled woman. There are two aspects of narratives on sex for the uncontrolled woman, engaging in sex when they do not want it, and rape.

The presentation of unwanted sex as a typical narrative is seen in three of the contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns. In the NHS Birmingham 'Who is in control' campaign (2010) one of two sources titled 'When you drink too much another you takes over' features two identical women, standing. One woman is looking confident, smiling, with her arms folded, looking directly at the viewer. The second woman has her arms by her sides, her face unsmiling, head turned slightly away, looking askance at the viewer. The body language alone merely shows one woman as confident, the second as unsettled. The accompanying text explains their different emotional states, "Who was thrown out the club and got into a man's car and had sex she didn't want?" The consequence the viewer sees is that the uncontrolled woman's loss of control through intoxication led to her having sex which she regrets.

The source uses the recognition of shame for the uncontrolled woman, as the consequence of their drinking behaviour.

Shaming narratives are also presented in the Bottletop – Safer Herefordshire partnership campaign (2011) ‘How will your night end? Too drunk to remember?’ The narratives are presented through four vignettes, in which a young woman is approached by a young man in a pub. In the second vignette, they are seen kissing, his hand on her bottom. The third and fourth vignettes focus on the young woman slumping on a table, intoxicated. The public and visible display of sexual contact is not presented as the source of shame, but the reaction of the young man is presented as bored in the third and fourth vignettes. He is no longer attracted to the young woman as she is incapacitated. The loss of control for the uncontrolled woman means she fails to be sexually attractive to the young man she has kissed. The text tells the viewer that she will not remember these actions, which she may regret.

The sexuality of the uncontrolled woman is at risk from more than unwanted sex or failure to maintain sexual attractiveness. In three of the sources, the uncontrolled woman is presented as at risk of being a victim of rape as a consequence of her drinking practices.



Picture 6: West Mercia police ‘Don’t let a night full of promise turn into a morning full of regret’ 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-hereford-worcester-19091566>

In picture 6, the viewer is presented with a source in which the narrative of the uncontrolled woman is that her drinking practices lead to her unconscious on a floor. The text describing the scene states “Don’t leave yourself more vulnerable to regretful sex or even rape. Drink sensibly and get home safely.” The campaign came under a barrage of criticism for its presentation of rape victims as to blame for being raped, as they had not remained in control of their bodies. This campaign is not alone in its use of rape as a consequence of becoming intoxicated, it was also presented in the narratives in the NHS and Home Office ‘Know your limits’ campaign (2006) titled ‘Would you let a complete stranger walk you home?’ and from the same series, a source which presents a statistic on rape victims (2006).

For the uncontrolled woman, her sexuality is at risk through her drinking behaviour. Loss of control through intoxication leads to engaging in sex that is later regretted, thus using the narrative of shame to present the actions of the uncontrolled woman as

undesirable to the viewer. The controversial use of rape as a narrative in the alcohol regulation campaigns seeks to present to the viewer that the uncontrolled woman is to some extent to blame for being a victim of rape. It is the duty of women to remain in control whilst drinking to avoid experiencing shame or becoming a victim of crime.

Through this narrative which is typical to all of the contemporary sources presenting the sexuality of the uncontrolled woman, a link is established with the presentation of the bad wife in the mid-19th century sources. All of the narratives concerning the sexuality of the uncontrolled woman present an expectation that women are the moral arbiters of their spheres. They are required to be in control, to ensure that they do not compromise their reputation or their bodies. There is the expectation of woman as the moral standpoint, maintaining their virtue and ensuring that men are encouraged and supported to present morally acceptable behaviour.

5.5 *Summary*

This chapter has explored the construction of the uncontrolled woman in the sources from the mid-19th century and contemporary period. This study is underpinned by the theoretical frameworks of moral regulation theory, governance and post-feminism, hence it seeks to explore how certain forms of conduct are constructed as ‘wrong’ and in need of regulation and to reflect upon why they are used in these time periods. Examining materials produced by alcohol regulation campaigns in two periods has offered an insight into the discourses and techniques used. The comparative analysis technique has also enabled a greater understanding of the historical formation of the discourses on women and drink, another aspect which moral regulation theory seeks to explain. Through the themes of dirt, loss and sexuality, the construction of the uncontrolled woman is underpinned by the concept of character. These themes are presented through discourses, in which there are demonstrable historical influences in the contemporary discourse formations. The focus on character indicates how moral regulation projects seek to shape conduct, an aspect of moral regulation theory that has been underexplored to date. The assumption of feminine character, which becomes the focus for shaping conduct, is the technique used in this moral regulation project.

Situating the uncontrolled woman in dirty locations, such as a dirty home, bar or street, or emphasising the dirt on her apparel and hair, the character of the uncontrolled woman is undermined. Maintaining cleanliness is a key performance of gender ideology in both time periods, and through drinking behaviours, the uncontrolled woman becomes associated with dirt. This association affirms the lack of character of the uncontrolled woman.

The loss of material objects, and intangible values such as respectability, serves to further undermine the character of the uncontrolled woman. She is unable to furnish her home adequately, has few clothes or has lost items of clothing through intoxication. The loss of respectability, the evaluation of the character of the uncontrolled woman by others, is a central component of the narratives.

Sexuality is used in different ways in each time period, but the failure of the uncontrolled woman to maintain her sexual role, as a good wife or as protecting the body. The uncontrolled woman is of unsuitable character to be a good wife, and lacks the character to ensure she remains in control and thus prevent sexual encounters they may regret, or becoming a victim of rape.

The role of character in the alcohol regulation campaigns will be explored in greater detail in the discussion chapter, following the examination of the controlled woman in the next chapter.

Chapter 6: The Controlled Woman

6.1 *Introduction*

Following on from the first findings chapter, in which I explored the data on ‘the uncontrolled woman’, this chapter will explore the second dominant trope of woman in the sources, the controlled woman. Whilst the controlled woman is sometimes presented as diametrically opposite to the uncontrolled woman, some differences between the tropes can be subtle. The controlled woman differs not only in her levels of sobriety, but in her apparel, values and the outcomes of her story. In the mid-nineteenth century sources, the controlled woman is presented as a figure from all different social classes, however she presents the ideal femininity of middle class gender ideology of the period. In the contemporary sources, social class is less evident in the presentation of the controlled woman, however she is presented with an inherent capacity and wish for self-regulation, which follows the dominant narratives of the middle class controlled woman in the mid-19th century sources. Alcohol becomes part of a fun night out, however intoxication is not part of the typical narratives constructing her.

The concept underpinning the controlled woman in the sources from both time periods is ‘character’. The controlled woman is presented through how her character supports her in the choices she is making, demonstrating the value structures which meet the expectations of ideal femininity of the period. The demonstrations of character made by the controlled woman are made through the objects associated with her, such as furniture and apparel. Her actions are constructs to present the value structures of femininity according to the prevailing gender ideology, and the typical narratives associated with the controlled woman serve to reinforce the correctness and superiority of her choices, over those made by the uncontrolled woman.

Within the data collected on the controlled woman, three themes have emerged, relating to the object, value structures and narratives constructing the controlled woman. These are charity, feminine poise, and moral guardianship. These themes are very distinct from the themes explored in the findings chapter on the uncontrolled woman (dirt, loss and sexuality) as the typical narratives of the controlled woman are

very different to those of the uncontrolled woman. The controlled woman has positive outcomes, cleanliness in body and locations, possesses more objects, has no damaged or broken objects, and presents an appearance which achieves conventional attractiveness. Whilst the themes explored in this chapter are under very different titles, some similar ideas (such as cleanliness in the construction of the controlled woman) will be examined.

The three themes, charity, feminine poise and moral governance, are underpinned by this concept of character. It is the character of the controlled woman which drives her actions and values within the narratives.

6.2 *Charity*

Charity is presented in both time periods through ideas about compassion, moral responsibility and self care. The controlled woman is inherently charitable, aspiring to promote the wellbeing of others, and making any personal sacrifice to prevent harm in their family and community. This presentation of the character of the controlled woman is made by both middle and working class controlled women in the mid 19th century sources. Furthermore, there is a strand of temperance tracts which use direct addresses to the female reader, such as in ‘Address to females’ (No. 131; 1846). These tracts seek to persuade a female reader, presumed to be a light or moderate drinker, of the necessities of abstinence as a charitable action. Assumptions about the social class and character of the reader are very apparent in this strand of the tracts.

Many of the temperance tracts present more traditional stories featuring controlled women, in which their actions and values are described as charitable. They demonstrate many of the actions, such as visiting the poor and giving them advice, which the reader is entreated to enact in the direct addresses to the female reader. In the contemporary sources, the value structures associated with the controlled woman are less overtly presented as acts of charity, however there is compassion demonstrated in depictions of friendships between controlled and uncontrolled women in the regulation campaign materials.

The emphasis on self-care, to prevent harm to health, emotional wellbeing and to prevent the risk of becoming a victim of sex crimes, is evident through different subject matter contained in the sources from the two time periods. Self-care is a more dominant strand in the contemporary sources, as these do not feature relationships such as spouses and children, whom the controlled woman prioritises in her charitable actions. The emphasis on friendships and individual self-regulation in the contemporary sources makes self-care a theme of greater prevalence than in the mid-19th century sources.

The role of moral responsibility is evident in the constructions of the controlled woman. It is her role to implement her inherent self-regulation around alcohol, for her wellbeing, and for the wellbeing of others. In the mid-19th century sources, the controlled woman is responsible for the moral welfare of all in her sphere of influence, including family, friends, and for middle class controlled women, the poor and destitute in her community. The presentation of moral responsibility in the contemporary sources points to the role the controlled woman plays in ensuring that social occasions in which alcohol is involved remain fun, through controlling drinking behaviour. The controlled woman is fun, and ensures that she does not spoil the fun of others through becoming intoxicated.

6.2.1. Compassion

In the mid-19th century sources, several controlled women are presented, with many similarities in the ways they conduct themselves, the values they demonstrate, and the objects they are associated with. There are, however, differences in the way middle-class controlled women are constructed in their demonstrations of compassion from working class or impoverished controlled women. As discussed previously, some of the tracts form direct addresses to a presumed middle-class reader, and in one of these direct addresses, ‘The young woman’s tract’ (No. 55, 1846) the subject of compassion is presented as an inherent quality of the presumed reader. This is exemplified in ‘The young woman’s tract’:

We hope, however, to show that teetotalism is calculated to make the comparatively useless become useful “in their day and generation;” while it will bind fresh laurels on the brows of such as are honourably renowned for the good they do, and the happiness which they are employed in communicating. We will suppose that our present reader belongs to the latter

class, and will endeavour, on this assumption, to prove that the adoption of teetotalism would add immensely to the influence of the most active and untiring philanthropy. (p. 3).

The assumed reader is a middle-class female, who possesses the value of compassion as an inherent trait of her feminine character. The tract goes on to address Sunday school teachers, tract distributors, visitors of the sick and needy, and supporters of Missionary societies (pp. 3 – 5) to take the next step in their compassion-driven activities, to become abstinent. The tract places particular emphasis on the compassion of woman as an imperative to abstain:

The noble system of entire abstinence, which we advocate is peculiarly fitted for the adoption of young women as a manifestation of kindness and compassion. This is, as it appears to us, our chief vantage ground of appeal to our fair countrywomen. The display of compassionate feeling has ever been a prominent characteristic of woman. (p. 9)

The assumption of compassion as a core manifestation of the character of the controlled woman is closely linked to the cause of abstinence in this section. The young woman addressed by this tract is reminded of her character, that she is compassionate, and as such, should also be abstinent. This presentation of a reader as a controlled woman, one whom is addressed as using small amounts of alcohol, but should be abstinent, confirms the role of compassion in the formation of the narratives on the controlled woman.

The charitable character of the middle-class controlled woman in the role of Sunday School teacher is presented in narrative form, in ‘The reformed shoemaker, or; “I will if you will”’ (No. 171: 1846). Two Sunday school teachers are visiting households in a Yorkshire village on a Monday morning, when they come across the dwelling of a shoemaker, who has returned from two days of drinking. The sadness of the wife and children of the shoemaker is remarked upon (p. 1). The shoemaker is demonstrating remorse for his drinking binge, prompting a response from the visiting ladies:

The young ladies kindly remonstrated with him, and at last he said that he knew he was doing wrong, and he would be glad if he was a different man. One of the ladies then advised him to sign the temperance pledge, and ask God to help him keep it. He replied, “*I will if you will.*” (p.1).

The kind remonstrations of the visiting ladies, clearly at leisure to undertake charitable activity such as visiting poor households, is a demonstration of the compassion inherent to the character of the middle-class controlled woman.

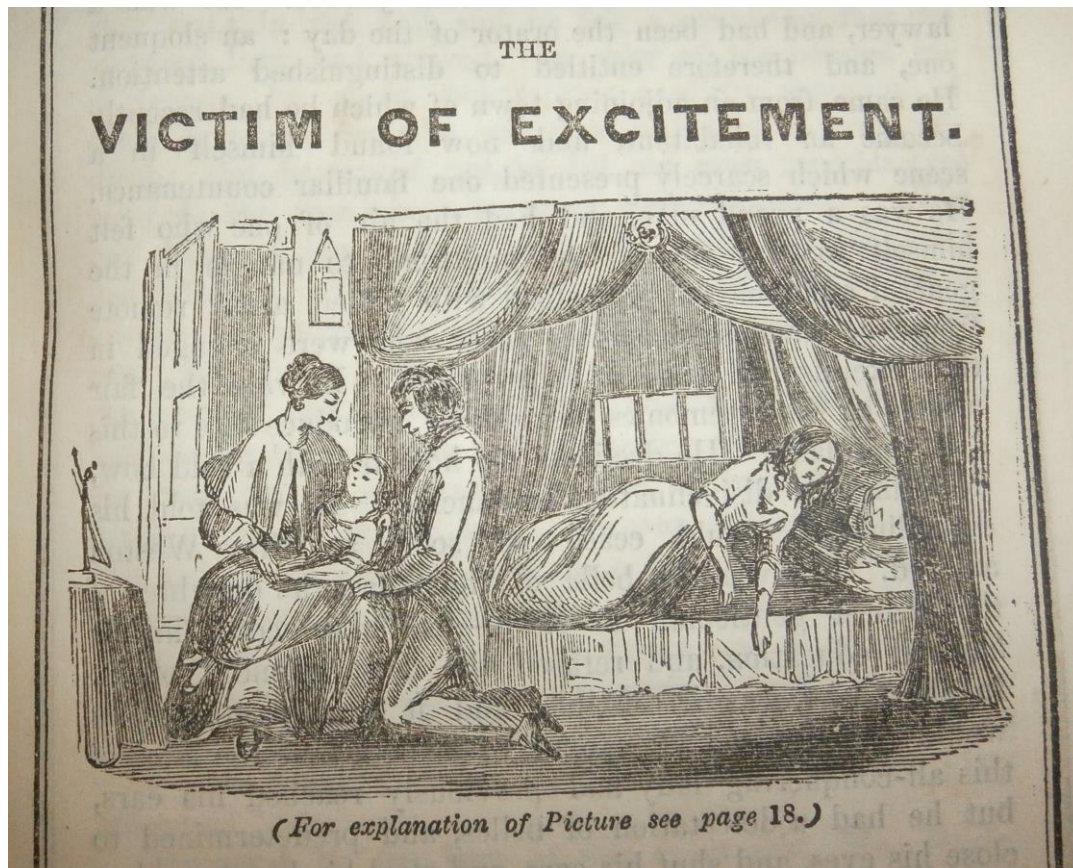
The themes of compassion towards the drinker are reinforced in a tract which takes on the form of a story about controlled and uncontrolled women. The presentation of middle-class controlled women who demonstrate their compassion is found, 'The Victim of Excitement' (No. 78, 1846). Unlike in the previous tract, the compassion of the middle-class controlled woman is directed towards another middle-class woman.

In 'The Victim of Excitement', the tract tells the story of Anne Manly (nee Weston), an uncontrolled woman, who was discussed several times in the previous chapter. The tract also presents a controlled woman, Emily Spencer, whom we are told is as close to a sister to Anne as is possible. This is emphasised in the information that Emily moves in with Anne when she marries Mr Manly. Emily seeks to challenge Anne about her propensity to drink (p.6) out of concern for her future, and when this foretelling comes true, and Mr. Manly discovers that Anne is a drinker, Emily plays a pivotal role in keeping the couple together:

Emily Spencer hovered near, and held him back from the brink to which he was rushing. She pleaded the cause of her unhappy friend; she prayed him not to cast her off. She dwelt on the bright and sparkling mind! The warm impulsive heart, that might yet be saved from utter degradation by his exerted influence. She pledged herself to labour for him, and with him; and faithfully did she redeem her pledge. (p. 11)

Emily's compassion for her friend, seeking to protect her from abandonment, arguing for her faith in Anne's character, that she might be redeemed, is an act of compassion to both Anne and Manly, preventing harm to their respectability, which would be a consequence of the marriage ending.

Emily's actions and words are eventually, to no avail, and Anne relapses into drinking. At the incident of the accident which eventually leads to the death of Anne's child, Emily re-enters the story (p.16). The death scene of the child presents Emily acting compassionately towards the child, and to Mr Manly (p. 17), and is a narrative presented in an illustration at the start of the tract.



Picture 7: 'The victim of excitement', Ipswich Temperance Tracts, No. 78: 1848 (p.1)

The description the reader is directed to is presented on page 18:

His wife, clothed in her richest raiments, and glittering with jewels, lying in the torpor of inebriation. Emily Spencer seated by the side of the bed, bathed in tears, holding in her lap the dying child, her dress stained with the blood with which its fair locks were matted. What a spectacle!

The contrast between the intoxicated, finely dressed Anne, passed out on the bed where the accident took place, and Emily, in simple clothes, covered in blood and tears, is clear to the viewer. Anne is presented as a subject for contempt, her vanity evident, passing out at the moment her child is dying, shows the complete failure of her character. Emily is alert, tending to the child, demonstrating the compassion Anne is failing to present.

This narrative is presented as a spectacle, a highly dramatic moment in which the failure of character of one woman, is presented against the demonstration of feminine character of another. Emily's compassion for Anne, then Manly and then finally for the dying child, is a demonstration of her inherently charitable character. Her

continued care for Manly after the death of the child (p.19) reinforces her compassion towards her friend however once he has recovered, Emily leaves:

Emily felt that she could no longer remain. There was no more fellowship with Anne, and the sympathy that bound her to her husband she could not, with propriety, indulge.

Emily's compassion for Anne ends with the death of the child. Anne's failure to meet the core expectation of feminine character, to be a good mother, has diminished what appeared to be Emily's unrelenting compassion. Even for a middle-class controlled woman, compassion cannot be given to such an uncontrolled woman of failed, unredeemable character as Anne.

The propensity of middle-class women in the tracts is towards active demonstrations of their compassionate character, such as in 'The reformed shoemaker, or: I will if you will' (No. 171: 1846) with the visiting activities of the Sunday school teachers. This type of action will be explored in the third section of this chapter, on moral governance, however it is important to note that the actions of the controlled woman in presenting moral governance is underpinned by this belief in the inherently compassionate character of the middle class controlled woman.

The tracts present many more working-class controlled women who demonstrate compassion as a core action. Perhaps it is the often acknowledged limited resources of these women which means that they cannot occupy the roles of middle class women, in Sunday school teaching and visiting, but they are presented as seeking to influence those around them through acts of compassion.

Acts of compassion by working class women are presented in three of the temperance tracts examined, 'Charles Simpson; or "One half-pint at supper time"' (No. 43: 1850); 'The story of a wife's endurance' (No. 32: 1850) and 'It's never too late' (No. 24: 1850). Unlike the middle-class controlled women, working-class controlled women are not presented as participating in genteel charitable activities such as visiting, Sunday school teaching, or tract distributing. Their compassion is demonstrated through practical actions, which ultimately lead to the salvation of a drinker in their 'sphere of influence'.

In all three instances, the drinker to be reformed by the working-class controlled woman is a man. The relationships to the men are quite different, however.

In 'It's never too late' and 'Charles Simpson', the acts of compassion are presented by a neighbour of a drinking man. The relationship between the controlled woman and the drinking man in 'Charles Simpson' is that of the tobacconist, Mrs. Kindly, and her neighbour and customer, Charles Simpson. Upon discussing the wellbeing of himself and his wife, Mrs. Kindly is compelled to act:

Turning round to the jar which contained the article required, the widow said, "I am afraid your wife will never be well either in mind or body, until you spend your evenings at home, instead of passing them at the Fleece over the way. She was very well till you began to waste your money and your hours amongst such a company as you mingle with there; I can remember better days with both of you." (p.1)

Mrs. Kindly is concerned for the wellbeing of Charles Simpson, and his wife, that his drink is damaging the health of the family. Mrs. Kindly entreats Charles to attend a temperance meeting, that their lives would be improved by total abstinence. Charles retorts that if the temperance society is a good thing, then good people (implied to be Mrs. Kindly) should be members (p. 2). Mrs. Kindly admits to consuming half a pint of porter with her supper, daily. Charles Simpson's comment plays upon her mind, resulting in Mrs. Kindly attending the temperance meeting, and signing the teetotal pledge. When Charles Simpson returns to the shop, Mrs. Kindly tells him about the meeting, and that she has signed the pledge. Charles Simpson is astonished; Mrs Kindly has remained a lifelong moderate drinker, and as such, is in need of no protection from the risk of becoming a drunkard, like himself:

"Then why did you sign the total abstinence pledge?"
"Well, the truth is," said Mrs. Kindly, looking into poor Simpson's face with her eyes moistened with tears – "I SIGNED FOR THE SAKE OF SUCH AS YOU." (p.4)

Mrs. Kindly, whilst a respectable, working-class widow, possesses the same inherently compassionate femininity as presented by the middle class controlled woman. She is sympathetic towards Charles Simpson, and like the Sunday school teachers discussed earlier, she chooses to become abstinent for his sake, to secure his redemption from drinking.

In a similar story, Mrs. Kinsalla, the poor, old and respectable widow neighbour of Roney Maher and his wife, Nelly, in 'It's never too late (No. 24: 1850) is described in detail, explaining the compassion in her actions:

Though she had so little to bestow that many would call it nothing, she gave it with that goodwill which rendered it 'twice blessed'; then she stirred up others to give and often had kept watch on her neighbour, Ellen, never omitting those words of gentle kindness and instruction (p.2)

Mrs. Kinsalla is pivotal to the story, in that she secures work for Nelly when Roney becomes too ill to work, and when Roney recovers, guides him towards temperance, and back into employment. The quote above directs the reader to be aware of the very few resources Mrs. Kinsalla has, in that she is very poor. However, the reader is made aware of the respect in which Mrs. Kinsalla is held in her community, that her respectability is enough to gain the means to employment for her neighbours. The compassionate acts of Mrs. Kinsalla are a demonstration of the charitable character she possesses, as a controlled woman.

What these sources tell us about the controlled woman, in her acts of compassion, is that the quality of charity is inherent to the feminine character, and that although the acts and outcomes of the charitable woman are different for working and middle class women, the inherent compassion of the controlled woman directs the actions.

The third tract which presents the compassion of the controlled woman is 'The story of a wife's endurance' (No. 32: 1850) This tract is different, as the compassion is demonstrated by the wife of a drunkard. Mrs. Jenner is the victim of male drinking, as she experiences poverty, ill health and violence as a consequence of her husband's drinking (p.3). Despite the ill treatment she receives, Mrs. Jenner remains compassionate towards her husband, as she tells a church minister:

"It's no," said she, evidently recovering a command of her feelings, "It's no that I hae to work for the bairns; while God gives me strength I'll no grudge that; but Oh, it is the shame o' being a drunkard's wife – its his puir soul that I care for;" and again she hid her face, and wept. (p.1)

Mrs. Jenner, as a controlled woman who is the victim of male drinking, presents some typical narratives and value structures expressed in four other tracts. The position of the controlled woman who is the victim of spousal drinking will be explored in a

discussion on self care, further on in this chapter. For now, it is important to note that the actions of Mrs. Jenner, as a controlled woman, are driven by her inherently compassionate female character. In spite of the hardships she is experiencing at the hands of her husband, she does not express resentment or anger towards him, only compassion for his soul. The strength of charity in the character of the controlled woman is such that, even in the face of spousal abuse, the controlled woman primarily expresses compassion for the drinker.

In the contemporary sources, we see no presentations of spousal or maternal relationships for the controlled woman. However, many of the sources present the controlled woman with friends, and emphasise the compassion of the controlled woman towards her uncontrolled friends.

In the materials produced in the Bottletop Safer Herefordshire partnership campaign, one source 'How will your night end? A trip to hospital?' (2011) contains three vignettes, the first of which contains a group of six young women, sitting around a table in a public house, drinking wine. In the second and third vignettes, one of the young women is slumped on the floor of the toilets in the pub, near to the sink. The uncontrolled woman in this source is passed out, and her friend is presented as a controlled woman. In the second vignette, the controlled woman has her back to the viewer, as she crouches before the uncontrolled woman. The controlled woman appears to be holding the hand or arm of the uncontrolled woman, in an attempt to rouse her. The controlled woman is wearing a dress and necklace, with the straps carefully arranged, her legs covered.

It is in the third vignette that the compassion of the controlled woman towards her friend is presented to the viewer. The uncontrolled woman has her eyes shut, still apparently unconscious, as she lies on her side on the floor of the toilets. The controlled woman is positioned sitting behind her friend holding a mobile phone to her ear, her left arm raised, leaning against the wall, her fist clenched and pressed to her forehead. The expression on the face of the controlled woman demonstrates her anxiety in this moment. The text accompanying the vignettes informs the viewer that the uncontrolled woman is going to go to hospital; therefore we can assume that the controlled woman is telephoning for assistance, or possibly an ambulance. The

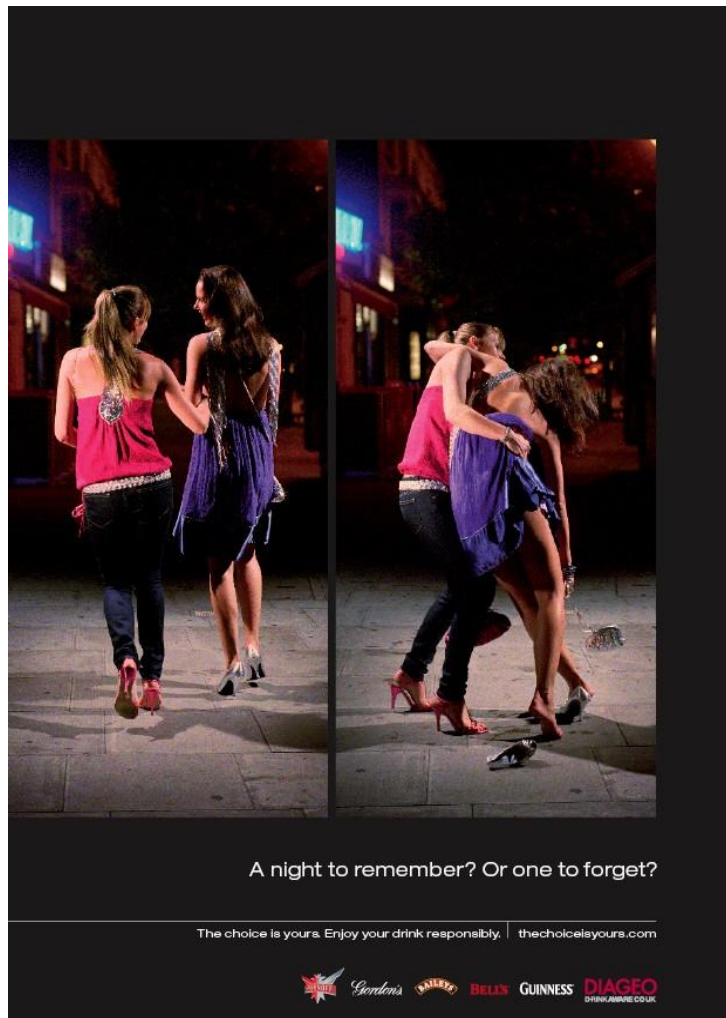
controlled woman is presenting her compassion for her friend, through her distress, and the actions she is taking to assist her friend. The value of friendship for controlled young women is emphasised in many sources, including ‘A night you’ll never forget – a night you can’t remember’ (Drinkaware, 2011) and ‘Don’t turn a night out into a nightmare’ (Devon and Cornwall Police, 2014) where the controlled woman is presented with friends in a social setting, with all individuals presented as smiling or laughing. However, incidents where the controlled woman is presented as experiencing distress caused by the intoxication of a friend. The distress of the controlled woman is caused by their inherently compassionate character.

The theme of controlled women acting compassionately to friends who become intoxicated is also presented in the source ‘Laughing with you – Laughing at you’ (Drinkaware, 2011). In two vignettes, a group of three friends, two female, and one male, are presented as standing in a bar; none of the friends are shown holding or consuming drinks. The outline of a wine glass shape bisecting the vignettes, along with the bar location, and the tagline ‘It’s not a race, remember to pace’ refer the viewer to the idea that the individuals are drinking alcohol. In the first vignette, all three individuals are laughing, a young blonde woman in the centre of the group is the focus of the attention of the other two, who look directly towards her. In the second vignette, the blonde woman is presented as ‘uncontrolled’. The young male is presented as leaning away from the uncontrolled woman, whilst the controlled woman in the group demonstrates physical care of the uncontrolled woman. The controlled woman holds onto the arm of the uncontrolled woman, in a gesture of leading the uncontrolled woman away, holding her upright as she stumbles. This is a clear demonstration of compassion towards her friend.

However, a second strand in the narratives on the controlled woman is presented in this source. The facial expression of the controlled woman is not of anxiety or concern. The controlled woman looks towards the male in the group, her eyebrows raised and mouth open, suggesting she is speaking to the male, as she leads the uncontrolled woman away. This gesture demonstrates that whilst the controlled woman is showing compassion towards her intoxicated friend, she is unhappy with her actions, and seeking to lead her away from the bar. This emphasis, on the failure to be a good friend by becoming intoxicated and requiring help from a controlled

woman friend, demonstrates that controlled women are compelled to act compassionately, even if it spoils their socialising.

Acts of compassion to friends is presented in the source presented in picture 8.



Picture 8: Diageo, 2007/08, <http://www.drinksinitiatives.eu/details-dynamic.php?id=24>

In this source, titled ‘A night to remember? Or one to forget?’ the controlled woman is seen with a friend in two vignettes. In the vignette to the left, both women are presented as controlled, linking arms, walking home at the end of a night out. Both women are presented with their apparel in order, with shoes on their feet. The women are looking towards each other, enjoying a conversation. In the vignette on the right of the image the woman on the right is now presented as uncontrolled, with a lost shoe, in the process of losing her bag.

The controlled woman in this vignette is physically supporting her friend, holding her upright by the arms. The controlled woman is presented with her apparel in order, the same as in the first vignette, whilst the uncontrolled woman's dress becomes disarranged as she is stumbling along. The controlled woman is offering physical support to the uncontrolled woman, demonstrating her compassion for her friend. Nevertheless, the view of the two images alongside each other encourages the viewer to identify that the action taking place in the second vignette is undesirable, that the controlled woman is burdened by her uncontrolled friend. The desirable outcome is for the controlled woman to not be required to exert her compassionate character.

The controlled woman is presented in the sources from both periods as inherently compassionate. This compassion stems from her charitable character, which compels her to act with compassion towards drinkers, whether they are spouses, friends, or neighbours. However, we have seen in several of the sources that the controlled woman is presented with limits to her compassion, that she is compelled by disgust or dissatisfaction with the failure of character of the drunk to present behaviours which go against her willingness to act compassionately.

The controlled woman possesses character, which compels her to act with compassion towards others. It also shapes how the controlled woman acts to prevent harm to the self, which is the second theme that emerged in the data.

6.3 *Self-care*

As discussed in the previous chapter, the relationship between being an uncontrolled woman and loss of health was established in sources from both time periods. In the construction of the controlled woman, the prevention of harm to the self and others is pertinent to the demonstration of feminine character. Controlled women are constructed through the typical narratives of the feminine body, the performance of spousal and maternal care and the value placed on mental wellbeing.

6.3.1 *Care of feminine health*

In the mid-19th century sources, self care is presented through the attention given to feminine health in the sources. The presentation of feminine health, as a distinct affect of the female body, which renders alcohol particularly damaging to women who drink, is asserted in sources which directly address controlled woman readers.

Three sources which follow the style of a direct ‘address’ to the reader discuss the topic of feminine health. These include ‘Address to females’ (No. 131: 1846); ‘Prize tracts, No. X – A word to females’ (No. 10: 1850) and ‘The young woman’s tract’ (No. 55: 1846). The narratives on feminine health are presented as such to draw attention to the greater impact alcohol has upon the female drinker, and the affect of male drinking on the health of wives.

In ‘The young woman’s tract’, the topic of women’s health is the first addressed in an eleven page tract, in which six topics are considered: (i) temperance for women’s health, (ii) Benefit of female abstinence on the wider society, (iii) The promotion of domestic peace, (iv) Abstinence as a demonstration of feminine character, (v) Abstinence in solidarity with women who have suffered indirectly through drinking, and (vi) abstinence as an act to demonstrate compassion towards others.

The first paragraph of part 1 of this tract presents the reader with a description of the harm alcohol can impart on feminine health:

If attention to the maintenance of *health* be important to any class in the community, it is of vast consequence to young women. Accustomed as many are to sedentary occupations, often too closely followed – subject, more or less, to affections of the nervous system – possessing frequently constitutions predisposed to pulmonary debility – and, in all cases, susceptible of physical injury from causes which have little or no influence upon the more robust form of man – arrived at a point of existence which will determine the character, physically, during the whole of the future life – performing offices in the domestic circle which are highly essential to the comfort of the family, and which depend for their continuance upon the conservation of the bodily activity and vigour – these, and many other considerations, render the subject of temperance as a *health-question*, one of absorbing interest to all candid and reflective young women. (p.2)

The construction of feminine health here is identifying the female body as inactive, located in the domestic sphere, and acting primarily as a tool for ensuring the wellbeing of others. In other words, this is a middle-class female body. Feminine health is presented as significantly more delicate than male health, as a consequence of the inactivity of the body in the domestic sphere. Drawing attention to illnesses of the nervous system and the pulmonary system strongly locates feminine illness as affecting the mental and emotional wellbeing of women.

The controlled woman, in this tract, is assumed to be middle class, with a physical body of such delicacy that it is liable to feminine illness, due to the inactivity associated with middle-class domesticity. The promotion of feminine health is presented as a subject of great interest to the middle class controlled woman, as the controlled woman would wish to ensure continued health for the sake of her future spouse and family, to ensure their comfort. For the controlled woman, her health is significant because it is pertinent to the wellbeing of her family.

In sharp contrast to the depiction of the hale and hearty femininity of Bridget Larkins (1846), this source presents feminine health as a consequence of inactivity and domesticity. The delicacy of feminine health is such that the middle class controlled woman should feel compelled to follow any advice to preserve their wellbeing. The narratives on feminine delicacy are presented in the two other direct addresses however the description of loss of health for working class women is the focus of the discussions on feminine health.

In 'Prize tracts, No. X – A word to females' (No. 10: 1850), the author draws attention to the suffering of women from the effects of drinking, of both women drinking, and of the drinking of their spouses. A working-class woman is described thus:

She has not only to bear all the poverty, and wretchedness, and disgrace along with her husband, which his dissipated habits have entailed, but she has much more to endure. (p.1)

The woman is the victim of male drinking, and the author, after discussing the shaming and poverty which is the consequence of male drinking she lives with, focuses on this woman's health:

Glance at that pale, wan form for one moment. It is the very embodiment of the most extreme wretchedness and misery. The hue of health has long since left her cheek, the brow is deeply furrowed, the hair is prematurely grey, the step is feeble, the shivering frame is ill protected from the cold by a few fluttering rags, while every look of this countenance betokens a heart within seared and withered through the blighting influences of ill-treatment and cruel neglect.

The reader is drawn to identify the loss of health of the working class controlled woman. The consequence of alcohol in her life is the loss of her health through poverty however it is demonstrated through the particular loss of feminine health. This is illustrated through the description of loss of feminine delicacy in her face, loss of vigour of movement, and the impact on her heart. Whilst the feminine health of working-class women is constructed with a different set of expectations, that the working-class woman, whilst belonging to the domestic sphere, should possess feminine health which supports rigorous physical activity of domestic work, the indirect impact of alcohol on her health shares some of the manifestations of loss of feminine health for the middle class woman.

The different expectations of feminine health for working-class controlled woman, compared to the assumed delicacy of the middle class controlled woman, is affirmed in the tract 'Address to females' (No. 131: 1846), a two page tract directly aimed at working-class wives, who may be prevented in attending temperance meetings due to their domestic activities (p.1). In this tract, the health of the controlled woman is described as 'vigour of both mind and body' (p. 2). The recognition of different levels of physical activity for working class women leads to the construction of feminine health as very different to that of the middle class woman. However, the narratives on mental and emotional health are presented for both social classes of controlled women.

In the discussion of 'The young woman's tract' (No. 55: 1846), attention was drawn to the emphasis placed on women's health for the benefit of others in their family. The sources on controlled women make frequent references to controlled women being the focus of ensuring the health of the family. The character of the controlled woman is such that the health of the family is paramount to the demonstration of her feminine character.

The theme of the controlled woman acting to prioritise the health of the family is presented in seven tracts, three of which are direct addresses to the reader: ‘Address to females’ (No. 131: 1846); ‘Prize tracts, No. X – A word to females’ (No. 10: 1850) and ‘The young woman’s tract’ (No. 55: 1846). In ‘Prize tracts, No. X – A word to females’, particular emphasis is given to the importance of abstinence for health for new mothers, for the benefit of the future health of their child:

And many thousands of mothers who have tried both systems give a most decided preference to the simple, safe and natural one of nursing on the principles of abstinence. They find that they enjoy better health themselves, and secure a stronger constitution to their offspring by doing so. (p. 2)

The health benefits of abstinence to breastfeeding mothers gives particular emphasis to the health benefits to the child, a theme reproduced in many narrative style tracts. In three of the tracts, ‘Sally Lyon’s first and last visit to the alehouse’ (No. 11: 1850), ‘It’s never too late’ (No. 24: 1850) and ‘The story of a wife’s endurance’ (No. 32: 1850) the stories focus on controlled women characters, who are of respectable working-class families, and the story of their marriages to men who become drunkards. In each of these stories, the sufferance of male drinking is explored at length, but all make references to the controlled women acting to prevent harm to their already suffering children. For example, in ‘It’s never too late’, Nelly Maher seeks to feed her children a meagre supper of potatoes, but evidently she goes without food herself. In ‘The story of a wife’s endurance’, Mary Jenner visits a minister, and explains that she takes on additional paid work in order to ensure that her children are fed and clothed. She does not begrudge the additional labour she must undertake to ensure the wellbeing of her children, albeit that it is impacting upon her own health. (p.1).

The most dramatic demonstration of a controlled woman seeking to influence the abstinence of others for the sake of the health of her children is in the tract ‘Sally Lyon’s first and last visit to the alehouse.’ Sally Lyon marries a working-class man, who develops from a moderate drinker to a drunkard through the course of their marriage. Sally takes on additional work, however this results in Mr Lyon feeling at liberty to spend his entire earnings on alcohol, impoverishing his household further.

Sally endeavours to keep her children healthy, through the provision of food and heating however a lack of work leads Sally to the point of utter desperation, she takes her two youngest children out into the cold evening, to visit Mr Lyon at the alehouse:

By this time the three glasses of brandy that Mrs Lyon had called for were placed before her on the table.

“Bring another glass,” said Mrs Lyon calmly, “my husband will drink with us.”

“Sally, are you mad?” ejaculated Ralph.

“Mad, to go with my husband? Why should you say that, Ralph? Drink, children,” she added, turning to her two little ones, and placing a glass of unadulterated brandy before them. “It will do you good.” As Sally said this, she lifted her own glass to her lips.

“Surely, you are not going to drink that?” said Ralph.

“Why not? You drink to forget sorrow; and if brandy have that effect, I am sure no living creature needs it more than I do. Besides, I have eaten nothing to-day, and need something to strengthen me.” (p. 4)

Of course, the purpose of Sally Lyon’s actions is to draw Ralph to the realisation of the harm he is doing to the health of his family. By drawing attention to Ralph that she and the children are cold, hungry and sad at home, whilst he drinks in a warm alehouse, he is shamed into leaving the alehouse, and becoming abstinent. The emphasis in this narrative is on the shocking impact of Sally, a controlled woman, taking her children from the relative comfort and safety of their home, to a low alehouse, and offering them brandy. The children demonstrate astonishment at the offer of the brandy, and do not drink it; this demonstrates that Sally, as a controlled woman, has not given her children alcohol, that she is raising her children with abstinent principles.

As a controlled woman, Sally has ensured the health of her children has taken primacy however it is the event of realising that she will not be able to feed them tomorrow which drives her to the action of taking them to the alehouse, and consuming brandy. As a working class controlled woman, her resolute character, the demonstration of the value of self-care, through care for her children, is the motivation behind the contradictory action of Sally going to the alehouse and drinking brandy.

In the contemporary sources, the presence of people other than the controlled woman in the narratives is only given to friends or partners. This does not offer the same

scope for the demonstration of self care through care of children as the mid 19th century tracts present. The contemporary sources do present the controlled woman as practicing self care through her limited alcohol consumption, yet none of the sources make specific references to benefits of physical health for the controlled woman. Instead, the focus is placed upon the mental and emotional wellbeing as a consequence of the limited alcohol consumption of the controlled woman.

The main object used in the presentation of the mental and emotional wellbeing of the controlled woman is the smiling face. In every source where controlled women are presented, which totals thirteen contemporary campaign materials, the controlled woman is presented with a smiling face. Through limiting alcohol consumption, the controlled woman is performing self-care, to achieve the aim of experiencing fun on the night out.

The narrative of self care, as the value structure shaping the behaviour of the controlled woman, is particularly evident in the source titled ‘A night you’ll never forget, A night you can’t remember’.



Picture 9: ‘A night you’ll never forget, A night you can’t remember’ (2011) ‘Why let good times go bad? series’ Drinkaware, <http://www.drinksinitiatives.eu/details-dynamic.php?id=313>

In the two vignettes presented, the image to the left illustrates three friends posing for a photo in a humorous pose. The woman in the centre is smiling, her eyes closed in a moment of joy, as she wraps her arms over the shoulders of two friends either side of her. The friends pose and laugh with her, sharing in the fun of the moment. In the second vignette, the figures are barely visible, the image blurred to the extent that the figures cannot be identified.

The emphasis of the controlled woman's self care, through the practice of controlled intoxication, is to achieve fun with her friends, and emphasises the value of remembering a fun occasion. The character of the controlled woman is that she values the fun with friends on a night out, and thus will limit her drinking to ensure that she will have positive memories of the night out. Her character ensures that she will practice limited alcohol consumption, for the benefit to her emotional wellbeing which comes from positive memories.

The practice of self care is not restricted to ensuring the health of the controlled woman, and her family. The sources in both time periods present controlled women acting to prevent violence against themselves through limiting their alcohol consumption, and in the mid-19th century sources, through entreating spouses to limit alcohol consumption to prevent violence against them.

6.3.2 *Self-care to prevent violence*

The controlled women presented in the sources are presented as having many different experiences of living with and avoiding violence. In the mid-19th century sources, the controlled woman is presented acting to avoid violence through abstinence, and more significantly, by encouraging their spouse to become abstinent to prevent episodes of violent abuse. Four of the tracts, 'Sally Lyons first and last visit to the alehouse' (No. 11: 1850), 'Saturday night' (No. 79: 1850) 'The story of a wife's endurance' (No. 32: 1850) and 'The first meeting and the last' (No. 48: 1850) all present controlled women who are married to drinking, violent husbands. As discussed previously, the contemporary alcohol regulation campaign materials only present controlled women interacting with friends, and do not make clear indications of romantic partnerships in the images of the controlled woman. Therefore, partner

violence is not something the controlled woman is presented as seeking to avoid through limiting alcohol consumption. However, there is emphasis placed on stranger violence in five of the sources, where women are depicted as victims of sexual violence because they did not act to protect themselves by limiting alcohol consumption. In two of the sources, 'When you drink too much another you takes over' (NHS Birmingham: 2010) and 'Don't let a night full of promise turn into a morning full of regret' (2012) the controlled woman is presented as limiting her alcohol consumption to avoid unwanted sexual activity, or even rape.

The imperative of self-care to prevent spousal violence is presented in the narratives in four tracts, 'Sally Lyons first and last visit to the alehouse' (No. 11: 1850), 'Saturday night' (No. 79: 1850) 'The story of a wife's endurance' (No. 32: 1850) and 'The first meeting and the last' (No. 48: 1850). Furthermore, on the first page of the tract 'Bridget Larkins' (No. 89: 1846) an illustration which is completely unrelated to Bridget's story is presented. This illustration is typical of the narratives in the other four tracts, of the poor controlled woman, living in impoverished conditions, awaiting the return of a drinking husband.



Explanation of the picture at the end.

Picture 10: 'Bridget Larkins' Ipswich Temperance Tracts, No. 89, 1846.

The explanation given at the end of the tract is this:

Here is the wife of a drunkard, waiting up past midnight for the return of her husband, whilst their poor children are sleeping upon a straw bed in one corner of the room. What a picture of woe! (p. 4).

The depiction of the controlled woman in her domestic sphere, awaiting the return of a drinking husband, is a common narrative in presenting the controlled woman's attempt to stay safe from the violence of a drinking husband. The passiveness of the controlled woman who has a drunken husband is evident in all four tracts, that the controlled woman act in the interest of self-care by quietly remonstrating, not directly challenging the drunk husband for the poverty he inflicts upon his family.

The quiet remonstrance of the controlled woman does not always offer protection from male violence, however in 'The story of a wife's endurance' (No. 32 1850) the narrative of male violence and the quiet remonstrance of the controlled woman is imperative to the redemption of the male drinker.

The children had nearly finished their homely breakfast, when their inebriated father entered. His appearance realised all that had been dreaded. He was, however, sobered. 'Mary,' said he, as he entered, 'could you let me have half-a-crown?'

'Half-a-crown, Matthew! For what?'

'No palaver – where's the money?' said he, seizing her by the wrist, and with a horrid oath, driving her into the corner.

The younger children screamed and ran to the door, while the eldest girl caught her father imploringly by the arm.

'No, Matthew,' said the insulted wife, 'though it should be my life, even a shilling you won't get; no that I grudge the money, but pay for drink I canna.'

The heroic calmness of the woman exasperated the excited man, and, dealing a heavy blow, he struck her to the ground. (p.3)

Mary Jenner waits at home all night for a husband she evidently deeply resents, as it is noted to the reader in that episode, that the death of her husband would be no greater loss than his current self poses to the family. As Mary Jenner is a controlled woman, she is sober, and passively resists her husband's demands for money. She accepts that resisting his violence may cost her life, but she will act to prevent his drinking, as he is impoverishing her family. Whilst Mary is a victim of Matthew's violence, her resistance is crucial to Matthew recognising the cruelty he is enacting on his wife, and thus becoming abstinent.

The passive resistance of a drinking husband is also presented in 'The first meeting and the last' (No. 48: 1850). Mary is the wife of Hugh Morris, and they spend the earliest years of their marriage in Glasgow, where he becomes a drunkard. The life of Mary is desperately sad:

Night after night she sat waiting and weeping in her lonely dwelling. Very frequently he was brought home by the police, dead drunk, long after the midnight hour. His brutal violence and profane oaths were such that poor Mary was even glad when the husband of her youth and the object of her first love was dead drunk! Often she was seen wending her way through the dark streets and the pelting rain, to seek her husband in the well-known public house, from the door of which she was often rudely repulsed by the publican himself. (p. 2)

The impoverished controlled woman, as presented in these four tracts, is prompted by the desire to care for the self to seek to change the behaviour of a drinking husband. The controlled woman is often depicted as waiting up for the drunken husband to return, meeting the ideals of femininity by acting as a good wife, even to the husband who is not meeting the ideals of masculinity by impoverishing his family, and causing his wife to undertake paid work to support the family. Another typical narrative, identified in the extract above, is of the controlled woman walking the streets, seeking to find her husband, and to bring him home. Such a scene is depicted at length in 'Saturday night' (No. 79: 1850) (see over.)



Picture 11: 'Saturday night' Scottish Temperance League tracts on temperance, 1850

The picture depicts an impoverished controlled woman, wearing torn clothes, alongside a barefooted child, and a baby; both are poorly clothed. A man, the husband and family of these three, lurches from the door of a public house. He is wearing sufficient clothing, including the shoes, coat and hat his children and wife do not possess. He is, however, dishevelled and unshaven. The woman has brought her children to the pub to find out how much money is left after her husband's drinking session. The description of her motivations presents how the controlled woman is motivated by self care to wait outside the pub for her husband:

Some of the more reckless are inviting the others to enter and share in the general dissipation; but the mother will not; she looks at her child, trembling and half crying with sleepiness at her side; no, for that child's sake, though almost despairing, she will still hope and watch. (p. 1)

The controlled woman will not be drawn into the warmth of the pub, but will diligently wait outside, in a demonstration of her passive action towards her drinking husband. Her character drives her to endure the impoverished conditions at home, or to wait in the cold and dark, wearing insufficient clothing, to compel her husband to become abstinent. The act of quiet remonstrance is central to the performance of the character of the controlled woman; she is compelling others to become abstinent, whilst maintaining the ideal femininity of passiveness to her husband and placing the care of her family above any care for herself.

The contemporary sources focus on the prevention of violence underpinned by the value of self-care in the controlled woman by emphasising the need to remain in control to avoid acts of violence perpetrated by strangers. None of the contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns contain narratives on partner violence, or on the controlled woman acting to support a drinking partner to self regulate their alcohol consumption. Fitting with the greater emphasis on the individual self-regulating in the contemporary alcohol campaign materials, the controlled woman is presented as limiting alcohol consumption with the aim of avoiding becoming a victim of sexual assault, or rape. This is a further difference with the mid-19th century materials, where the violence is always physical attack, with no reference to sexual assault or rape.

Contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns have been critiqued for emphasising the risk of becoming a victim of rape for women who become intoxicated. Both ‘Don’t let a night full of promise turn into a morning full of regret’ (West Mercia Police, 2012) and the NHS and Home Office ‘Know your limits’ campaign, featuring a statistic on rape victims and alcohol consumption (2006) were widely critiqued on feminist blogs, and mainstream media outlets.

Picture six (as presented in Chapter Five) presents the narratives on the controlled and uncontrolled woman, with an emphasis on the role of the controlled woman acting to prevent becoming a victim of rape. The controlled woman is smiling broadly, and provides a stark contrast to the figure lying on the floor, with her legs exposed, evidently unconscious. The emphasis on limiting alcohol consumption as an act of self care has proved to be a controversial approach to engaging women in the message to avoid intoxication, however it demonstrates a ‘hangover’ from the mid-19th century sources, which present the controlled woman as responsible for preventing the violence of others through their own self-regulation.

The role of the controlled woman in enabling and supporting the behaviour of others in her sphere of influence (including family, friends and neighbours) has been discussed in part 1.1.2 the compassion of the working class woman. This theme is perhaps the most prevalent through the sources in both time periods, and thus will be explored in detail.

6.4 *Moral governance*

The role of the controlled woman in the moral governance of others is strongly affirmed throughout the sources in both time periods. The gender ideology which places women as compassionate, acting to ensure care of the self and others, stems from the construction of femininity which puts women in a role of moral guardian and symbol of moral propriety within their sphere.

The construction of a femininity in which moral governance is a key practice of the controlled woman fits with the gender ideology of the separate sphere, as discussed in

chapter five. As middle class gender ideology emphasised the location of the woman in the domestic sphere, developing objects and value structures of femininity which emphasised the separation of the feminine, domestic, private sphere, from the public, masculine sphere, the narratives of femininity identify how woman's social role in the moral governance of the family and community in which they live.

The expectation of acknowledgement and embracing of the role of moral guardian for the controlled woman is clearest in the mid-19th century tracts which directly address the reader. In four of the tracts, 'Address to females' (No. 131: 1846); 'Prize tracts, No. X – A word to females' (No. 10: 1850); 'The young woman's tract' (No. 55: 1846) and 'Ladies tract societies; with hints for their formation' (No. 62: 1846), the reader is implored to act for the cause of abstinence, using their feminine influence to guide others towards abstinence. The narrative of feminine influence is described eloquently in 'Prize tracts, No. X – A word to females' (No. 10: 1850),

Woman has it in her power to do much for carrying forward, to a triumphant issue, the present struggle for the overthrow of the drinking system. The influence of her tears, her prayers, and her efforts, when put forth for the accomplishment of any particular object, have ever acknowledged to be resistless. When she pleads, who can withstand her eloquence? When she stands up on behalf of the degraded or enslaved, who can resist the calm dignity and earnest solemnity of her bearing? When she espouses a despised cause, or undertakes an arduous work, what difficulties can daunt her purpose, or subdue her indomitable energy and perseverance? (p. 3)

The controlled woman is extolled as a social actor of many skills and talents, which are enacted within a very specific model of ideal femininity. The performance of emotional labour, through crying and praying, is a skill which the controlled woman utilises in seeking to influence others. The argumentation of the controlled woman, whilst eloquent, is presented as pleading, again emphasising the emotional work taking place. However, the emotional actions of the controlled woman are carefully constrained; her arguments on behalf of the degraded or enslaved are presented calmly, with the correct amount of emotional display to maintain feminine dignity. Her character drives perseverance in her actions, continuing to drive her energy into even unpopular causes. This detailed description of how the controlled woman exerts her moral governance brings the role of emotional labour to the forefront of ideal

feminine social action. The controlled woman is presented as using her emotions to influence others, not facts or direct instruction on the dangers of drinking alcohol. In 'Address to females' (No. 131: 1846) and 'The young woman's tract' (No. 55: 1846), the entreaty to use personal influence is described as a much more socially confined way. 'Address to females' entreats the controlled woman reader to abstain and use her influence on her family to ensure their future abstinence. In 'The young woman's tract', the reader is engaged in a theoretical question and response between a wavering reader and the writer. The reader is presented with the wavering readers thought "But I have little influence." (p.11) The response of the writer emphasises the role of the controlled woman as a moral guardian:

Use that little on the side of truth and goodness; you are not responsible for the *amount*, but the *employment* of your influence. (p.11)

These two tracts emphasise the presumed limited sphere of influence of a woman, mainly to her family and friends. Nevertheless, the controlled woman is presented as performing the role of moral guardian as an attribute of her feminine character.

One tract does presume the controlled woman to have a wider sphere of influence in the semi-public sphere of charitable organisations. In 'Ladies tract societies; with hints for their formation' (No. 62: 1846) the female reader is given directions as to how small groups of women can organise a tract library, distributing them in defined districts of thirty houses per woman (p. 5). The reason for putting forward this suggested course of action is described as:

In the organism of total abstinence societies there is at present but small scope for the exertions of the female sex; and we have abundant reasons to believe that their efforts, if directed to this field of labour, would be blessed in no small degree, it has occurred to some leading friends of the cause that the formation of LADIES TRACT LENDING SOCIETIES would furnish a mode by which female influence might be brought to bear with good effect on the great TEMPERANCE REFORMATION, (p.1)

The tract goes on to describe how 'system, punctuality and perseverance' (p.3) will enable women to implement the strength of their feminine characters in an action of moral governance. This tract, along with the narrative presented in 'Prize tracts, No. X – A word to females' (No. 10: 1850), demonstrates that the controlled woman can exert her influence beyond her family, to a wider semi-public sphere. This presentation of the controlled woman as exerting moral governance outside the

immediate confines of the domestic sphere, does appear to go against the middle class gender ideology presented as ideal femininity. However, clear limits are placed on the activities of these controlled women, who are entreated to use emotional labour, not clear arguments or informed debate on the impacts of alcohol on health. They are also confined to exerting their influence within the domestic sphere of others, namely the poor, and not to take on more publicly visible roles such as preaching or lecturing. These activities are situated as firmly in the masculine, public sphere, where women are present as observers only.

In the narrative form tracts, the role of the controlled woman in ‘setting a good example’ to others is a common feature of the stories. These narratives focus on activity in the domestic sphere; however some references to visiting the poor by controlled women are also identified in the tracts.

6.4.1 Moral governance through exemplary action

The presentation of controlled women acting with the purpose of making a good example to others around them, is a frequently used narrative in the mid-19th century sources. It is presented in two different ways, relating to the social class of the controlled woman. For the working class or poor controlled woman, exemplary behaviour is demonstrated in the objects and value structures associated with the controlled woman. Middle class controlled woman is demonstrably undertaking exemplary action through visiting the poor and inebriate.

The tracts which present poor or working-class controlled women behaving in exemplary ways are ‘Charles Simpson, or one half-pint at supper time’ (No.43, 1850), ‘The fools pence’ (No. 22: 1846) and ‘A highland village’ (No. 34, 1850). ‘Charles Simpson, or one half pint at supper time’ was discussed at length in part 1.1.2 of this chapter. In that discussion, the actions of Mrs. Kindly in becoming abstinent for the sake of Charles Simpson, and other drinkers like him, are examined as compassion of the controlled woman. Mrs. Kindly’s actions can also be considered to be typical of the narrative of the controlled woman acting to be a good example to others in her sphere of influence. Mrs. Kindly’s sphere of influence is that of a shopkeeper to her neighbours and customers, but not her family, as she is a widow living alone.

In 'A highland village', we see the presentation of a controlled woman setting an example to her family in a highly deprived and depraved drinking rural community:

The young fisherman's wife (the father was a widower) had already heard of the 'great fishing,' and had a most comfortable breakfast prepared, for this was the fishermen's first meal that day, although it was now well advanced towards noon. I saw at once much real happiness and affection. The young wife, the very picture of health laid down her first-born, a chubby-cheeked, laughing, crowing thing, in a wicker basket, and got dry clothes for her husband and father-in-law. (p.2)

The controlled woman is presented through the provision of a suitably substantial breakfast, her own apparent health and happiness, that of the child, and the act of providing dry clothes to the males of the household. The evident cleanliness of the hovel cottage is emphasised in detail by the visitor (p.3) and the prevalence of sunlight with the warmth of the fire, presents a powerful juxtaposition to the hovel cottages of the drinking uncontrolled woman (see section 1.1 in chapter 5). The objects surrounding the controlled woman present her character as shaping her ideal femininity, ensuring the comfort of the males in the household, and through exemplary feminine behaviour, ensuring their continued sobriety.

The virtue of the poor controlled woman is further presented in 'The Fool's pence' (No. 22: 1846). The tract tells two intertwined stories, that of the landlady and daughters of the Punch-bowl public house, and Mr. George Manly, a carpenter, and his impoverished family, of a wife, two daughters, and a son. The landlady, Mrs. Crowder, is overheard telling an acquaintance that her prosperity, fine clothing, educated and refined daughters, are paid for by 'The fools pence' (p.3), referring to the money spent by impoverished patrons of her public house. The person overhearing this conversation is George Manly. This moment raises his awareness of the way his income is spent supporting the Crowder family, whereas his own family and home are described as:

His wife and his two little girls were sitting at work. They were thin and pale, really for want of food. The room looked very cheerless, and their fire was so small that its warmth was scarcely felt; yet the commonest observer must have been struck by the neatness and cleanliness of the apartment, and everything about it. (p.4)

In this narrative, Mrs. Manly is presented with objects which affirm her ideal femininity, through the cleanliness and organisation of her impoverished home, where she is undertaking paid work to support her family. The stories of Mrs Crowder and the Manly family intertwine when Mrs. Crowder and her daughters are caught in a rain storm, on a Sunday evening visit to the tea gardens. The rain storm threatens to ruin the expensive apparel the misses Crowder are wearing, so Mrs. Crowder encourages them to enter a house on the street they are walking along. The house is the only clean home on a street full of dirty hovels, and belongs to the Manly family:

The rain was now coming down in torrents, and the two young ladies gladly followed their mother's example, and entered the cleanly dwelling. Their long hair dangling about their ears, their bonnets had been screened in vain by their fringed parasols, and the skirts of their silk gowns were dragged with mud. They all three began to stamp upon the floor of the room into which they had entered, with very little ceremony; but the good natured mistress of the house felt more for their disaster than for her floor, and came forward at once to console and assist them. She brought forth clean-cloths from the dresser drawer, and she and her two daughters set to work to wipe off the rain drops and the mud splashes from the dresses of the three fine ladies. The bonnets and parasols were quickly dried at the fire, and a comb was offered to arrange the uncurled hair; such a white and delicately-clean comb as may seldom be seen on a poor woman's table – we doubt even if the miss Crowder's combs were so clean. (pp. 6 – 7)

This narrative places a clear distinction between the apparent respectable femininity of the Crowder ladies, and the poor but respectable Manly women. The emphasis on the showy dress of the Crowder ladies, along with the knowledge of how their finery is funded by the money of drinkers, taints their feminine respectability. They are presented as lacking in the feminine character presented by the Manly women. Mrs Manly, in particular, presents her feminine character through her compassion, and the cleanliness of the objects about her. Mrs Manly's actions are that of a woman driven by her character to exemplary behaviour.

In three of the tracts, 'Manchester go-a-heads' (No. 148: 1846), 'It's never too late' (No 24: 1850) and 'The reformed shoemaker; or; "I will if you will"' (No. 171, 1846) the role of the middle-class controlled woman who goes visiting the poor, to propagate middle class values, is presented as one in which controlled women present exemplary behaviours.

In 'Manchester go-a-heads', ten women relate their stories of becoming teetotal. The report of this teetotal meeting features a comment from the chairman of the meeting, that

Many of the female visitors regularly distribute tracts and pledge papers, and visit the garrets and cellars of the poor female drunkards, etc, etc, and, in many instances, with pleasing success. (p.3)

The exemplary actions of the middle class woman is through visiting drinking men and women. The act of visiting is presented as propagating middle class values through poor households, using objects and values to persuade the poor drinkers of the harm alcohol does to their health and household. The middle class controlled woman steps outside the domestic sphere with the purpose of providing a good example to the poor and destitute, through their compassion and interest.

The role of the controlled woman performing exemplary acts is presented in 'The reformed shoemaker; or, "I will if you will" (No. 171, 1846). This tract was also discussed in section 1.1.1 in this chapter, in a discussion on compassion of the middle class controlled woman. The story develops, with a narrative presenting the exemplary action of the controlled women in the story, two Sunday school teachers. Following the remonstrance of the shoemaker, a drinker, that he will sign a teetotal pledge if the two visiting women will do the same, the following narrative is presented:

They were in the habit of taking a little wine occasionally, and thought that it did them good. They, however, reflected that if this poor drunkard should be rescued, by God's blessing, through their example, it would more than repay them for the loss of the wine. (p.1)

The Sunday school teachers, whilst not fully abstinent, are presented as controlled women, particularly when prompted, they enact exemplary behaviour, by becoming abstinent to provide a good example to the drinking shoemaker.

Moral governance is a very strong theme in the mid-19th century sources; it is given a lot of emphasis, particularly in the direct address tracts. In the contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns, moral governance is perhaps less immediately visible, but by examining how controlled women are presented, particularly in contrast to the

uncontrolled women in the same sources, the role of woman in enacting moral governance in the NTE becomes apparent.

6.5 *Summary*

In the contemporary sources, the governance of the self and others is central to the construction of the controlled woman. Unlike in the mid-19th century sources, moral governance is not of family, spouses, or neighbours, but of friends only. As we have discussed in part 1.1.3, the controlled woman shows compassion towards friends through taking care of them when they become intoxicated. This is an aspect of enacting moral governance of the controlled woman during drinking sessions.

Moral governance is also presented in the emphasis on having and being fun during the night out for the controlled woman. Having and being fun is an idea explored by Mackiewicz (2012) and Brown and Gregg (2012), using it to explain how alcohol is a necessary component in participating in the hedonistic environs which are part of the culture of intoxication. In the alcohol regulation campaigns, the emphasis on fun is placed with the purpose of drawing attention to how limiting alcohol consumption will maximise fun; that intoxication results in loss of fun for the uncontrolled woman (see chapter 5, part 2). The emphasis on fun as a consequence of being a controlled woman is found in four of the contemporary alcohol regulation campaign materials, ‘A night you’ll never forget – A night you can’t remember’ (Drinkaware, 2011); ‘Catching up-left behind’ (Drinkaware, 2011); ‘Dance floor-toilet floor’ (Drinkaware, 2011) and ‘How will your night end? Too drunk to remember?’ (Bottletop and Safer Herefordshire Partnership; 2011).

Each of these sources features both controlled and uncontrolled women in the narratives, who are the same women, but at different stages of an evening. The emphasis is placed upon the controlled woman, guided by her character to maintain control of her drinking, and avoid intoxication, has more fun than the uncontrolled woman who drinks to intoxication. Moral governance of the self and others is promoted through the narrative of having more fun and remembering the fun experiences.

Moral regulation theory draws focus to the discourses and techniques for shaping conduct, often that which is constructed as having a pervasive sense of wrongness. This study has presented an example of the dividing practices identified by Hunt (1999:8) in which both transgressive and normative feminine drinking behaviours are used, often in the same source. The emphasis in all of the contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns is upon the benefits of self-regulation of the controlled woman, who still participates in the hedonistic environs, without the messy outcomes of intoxication. Whilst moral governance is a central narrative in the construction of the controlled woman in the mid-19th century sources primarily for the benefit of others, the contemporary sources place much greater emphasis on the benefits to the self.

Chapter 7 – Character and the formation of feminine drinking conduct

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will reflect upon how the themes uncovered in this study relate to the research questions set out in section 4.1.1. In this discussion of the findings, the gaps in understanding how feminine drinking is regulated (as identified in the literature review)) will be explored through examining how these alcohol regulation campaigns centred their attention around the concept of character. Character is here identified as a concept, related to but distinctive from subjectivity and self, that is integral to the techniques implemented in these alcohol regulation campaign materials.

Character draws attention to the distinctive process of self formation taking place in a moral regulation project. Existing approaches to moral regulation theory have not successfully addressed how moral regulation operates in shaping individual conduct. This is because the approach taken by Dean (1994) to explain self-formation rejected the principle of the ‘moral’ in moral regulation, in favour of ethics. I made a preliminary argument about why the moral element of moral regulation is pertinent to understanding the processes of self formation in section 3.3.3. I will build upon this in this section 7.3, through the consideration of how the techniques used in alcohol regulation campaigns demonstrate moral regulation. This is through the assumption of character, as an inner trait that will respond to the juxtaposed feminine drinking practices to prompt the female viewer to participate in the form of drinking conduct constructed as normative within that time period. Furthermore, the concept of character draws attention to the process of external evaluation of inner character that is integral to the discursive power of the materials. The female viewer is expected to respond to the discourses by performing normative feminine drinking practices, because she possesses ‘character’ as an inner trait, and recognises that external evaluation of her ‘character’ through her drinking conduct will take place. This is the technique for forming self-regulation in a moral regulation project.

In Chapter Four, three research questions were set out, which were informed by the existing body of scholarship on women’s drinking in the UK, as presented in Chapter

Two (literature review) and in the discussion on moral regulation theory in Chapter Three. The research questions are:

1. How has women's drinking been understood as a social problem in the United Kingdom?
2. How do alcohol regulation campaigns seek to shape normative feminine drinking practices?
3. Can a historical comparison aid a better understanding of why alcohol regulation campaigns use these discursive formations?
4. Is this an example of a moral regulation project?

These questions emerged as a result of the review of the literature, and the exploration of the theoretical framework for this study. The existing body of knowledge suggested various facets of the social problems caused by women's drinking. However, this study has generated new insights to precisely which behaviours are identified as a social problem. I have also sought to find out how these campaigns act to shape women's drinking. These campaigns produced materials to support the dissemination of their messages, including posters, television advertisements, newspapers and tracts. The purpose of the materials is to impact on drinking behaviours, so preferred forms of behaviour are performed by women drinkers. The preferred form of behaviour differed in the two time periods examined, but the intent, to shape drinking behaviour, is the same.

I also wanted to explore how, historically, these ideas about women's drinking as a social problem, have emerged and been sustained. This concept initially presented itself to me in the example discussed at the beginning of chapter one. The visual cues of the socially problematic female drinker, as identified in the source from 1851, which I referred to as 'stretcher woman', in response to the name given to the female figure in the 2005 photograph by Matt Cardy, 'bench girl' (see 1.1). Nicholls's (2009) proposition that women's drinking is a perennial concern (p.2) drew me further into considering the longevity of discourses on women's drinking as a social problem. Berridge (2005) explored how Temperance history could inform contemporary alcohol policy; in this study, I explored the ways the Temperance campaign groups constructed women's drinking as a social problem, how they sought to shape women's drinking practices, and how this related to the discourses of the

contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns. By undertaking a historical comparative approach, I wanted to find out more about the themes used in the mid-19th century, and to find out if they related, in any way, to the themes used in contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns.

Through this research, I also hoped to add to the debates on moral regulation theory, picking up on the suggestion by Valverde and Weir (2006) to examine the processes by which moral regulation acts on the individual. By examining sources produced by alcohol regulation campaigns in two distinctive time periods, I aimed to find out if this type of campaign could be considered an example of moral regulation. The initial consideration of the major factors of moral regulation projects suggested that it could, but I was uncertain if these micropractices could be considered a part of the macro and meso schemes of moral regulation. I wanted to find out if looking at these campaigns as moral regulation projects would support new insights into how certain feminine practices are constructed as a problem, and how the regulatory discourses seek to shape the behaviours of the female viewer.

In the rest of this chapter, I will explore the findings, in relation to the literature, considering how this can lead me to respond to the research questions. Finally, I will state what I have found out about the regulation of women's drinking by undertaking this research.

7.2 How has women's drinking been understood as a social problem in the United Kingdom?

One of the main purposes of the literature review was to investigate how the existing body of literature accounted for women's drinking as a social problem. In the literature on the contemporary era (1990 – 2015) two strands emerged: the social problem of binge drinking, as explored in depth by Measham et al (2005, 2009, 2011) and the complexities of female sexuality in the Night Time Economy (Day et al (2004), de Visser and McDonnell (2012), Mackiewicz (2012), Griffin et al (2012). These two strands presented the existing body of knowledge on how women's drinking is identified as a social problem. This helped to form a base to explore the

sources, to understand how women's drinking is constructed as a social problem in the alcohol regulation campaign materials.

The work on contemporary drinking cultures often focuses on women's drinking conduct in the NTE, in public spaces and time devoted to leisure. Leisure studies seeks to understand the types of practices people participate outside of work time, their meaning and organisation. The importance of leisure is identified by Clarke and Critcher (1985): "Leisure seems to offer the prospect of being all those things that work is not: the source of satisfactions, gratifications and pleasures. Where work is the realm of dull compulsion, leisure represents freedom, choice and creativity." (p.3). These concepts of freedom, satisfaction and pleasure are central to understanding why leisure is sometimes constructed as a social problem, as "It is the site of as many problems as pleasures. Free time, it seems, is alarmingly open to abuse, and the list of abuses is both long and familiar...drunkenness, illicit sexuality, crime, violence, vandalism, physical and psychological demoralisation and urban riots." (Clarke and Critcher, 1985: 4). The question of whose leisure is problematised, how their conduct in leisure is regulated and shaped, is examined in recent collection of work edited by Bramham and Wagg (2011). In this section, the knowledge gained on women's drinking as a social problem within the context of leisure will be discussed.

Whilst there was a vast body of literature to search on contemporary women's drinking, the literature on Victorian women's drinking was sparse. The majority of the literature on the Victorians and drink concerned the Temperance movements, particularly the organisations and their political roles, for example in the prominent work of Harrison (1994). The account of the actions and purpose of these Temperance campaign groups did provide some insights into what was deemed problematic about women's drinking. This study has sought to address a major gap in the literature on women's drinking in the 19th century by directly approaching this topic. In this literature, we can see some examples of women's drinking as a practice in leisure time, but this is less explicit than in the contemporary sources. The intertwining of drink in both work and leisure practices is visible, especially in the sources presenting working class women, such as Bridget Larkins.

7.2.1 Women's drinking as misspent leisure

In exploring leisure as a gendered space/arena of practice, Aichison (2003) argues that within the time/space of leisure, socio-cultural norms are constructed and reproduced. Leisure is performed within a specific socio-cultural context and therefore it is to be expected that powerful discourses on gender should prevail in the activities that women and girls participate in. Clarke and Critcher (1985) conclude that “leisure has been and is socially constructed around the axes of time and space, institutional forms and social identities.” (p.211). Women’s inequality and oppression is not limited to the spheres of work, home and education, but extends to shape their experience of leisure as gendered. In further examinations of the reproduction of gender oppression in the sphere of leisure in the mid-1980’s, Clarke and Critcher highlight three issues: “the role attributed to culture in the perpetuation of gender inequality, the pervasive nature of the sexual division of labour, and the absolute centrality for gender relations of the modern family household.” (p. 220). Whilst all three issues are still pertinent to discussions of gender and leisure in 2017, this study has explored women as participants in a leisure culture of drinking as consumers rather than producers or service providers. Most of the focus, particularly in the contemporary period, is on women’s drinking out in the NTE, which pays little attention to gendered relations in households. Therefore, this discussion will focus on the role of culture in the perpetuation of gender inequality in leisure cultures in the mid-19th century and the contemporary period.

Critcher’s (2011) historical comparative work on drinking and leisure in the 18th century and the contemporary period draws attention to the shaping of conduct in leisure practices where pleasure is understood to be out of control, and disorderly. In considering the contemporary period, he explores how leisured drinking conduct, (associated with drinking practices which emerged out of the changes to the drinking landscape, as discussed in part 2.4.2) prompted renewed regulatory discourses:

“Consumer freedoms to pursue pleasure became problematic when they create disorder on the streets and costs to the state. The consequent need to define limits on the pursuit of pleasure denies the essence of the activity.

Exhortations to ‘drink responsibly’ suppresses the idea that one strong motivation for drinking alcohol is indeed to become intoxicated.” (p.42).

The NTE which emerged in the late 1990s, as Nicholls (2009) has argued, sought to produce a hedonistic drinking culture, emulating aspects of the early 1990s rave culture. Within these spaces, female drinkers were invited to participate in the culture of intoxication, seeking to achieve determined drunkenness (Measham and Ostergaard, 2009) in their pursuit of pleasure as part of the ‘night out’ leisure experience.

However, as Critcher points out, in time periods where a determined drunkenness drinking culture within leisure practices emerges, such as in the Gin Pandemic, or the millennium binge drinking culture, an imperative to reform disorderly leisure drinking culture emerges: “Both gin and binge drinking seemed to lead to a state of abandonment where all the conventions of daily public life were breached. Even in a society based on excessive pleasurable consumption, there are still some limits.” (p44). It is these limits of female respectability that prompts the action of alcohol regulation campaign groups to attempt to reform women’s drinking conduct whilst they remain participants in the NTE leisure sphere. This highlights a tension in how women are to regulate their conduct in contemporary drinking cultures, particularly if we compare the messages of the mid-19th century alcohol regulation campaigns, which promote total abstinence, and absence from leisure culture associated with drinking for women. This raises the question as to why the regulation campaigns in the contemporary period did not seek to divert women from participating in the NTE, but to remain controlled within that setting. This will be explored further in relation to postfeminism, as explored in part 8.4.2.

Attwood (201) in writing about sex as play, notes that, “A sex positive/sex radical stance is evident in a range of texts and practices; notably those associated with the sexy form of mainstream postfeminism” (p86). Attwood’s discussion on a wide range of sexual practices highlights how sex, particularly as a form of play or leisure, has become difficult to regulate, and therefore regulation is more complex (p91). In the attempt to shape feminine drinking conduct, the sources seek to reproduce the normatively attractive female as controlled. However, sex is conspicuously absent from the leisure activities of the controlled woman in the materials examined in this study. The emphasis instead, is on fun and friendship, not sexual attraction, flirting or sexual acts. Indeed, it is only the uncontrolled woman who is linked to sex, both as public displays of sexual conduct, such as in ‘How will your night end? Too drunk to

remember? (Bottletop, 2011), and as victims of sexual assault and rape, such as seen in picture 6 (featured in part 5.4.2).

Attwood's work on sex as a leisure practice is something that has been sidelined in the contemporary alcohol regulation campaign materials. The imperative to shape drinking conduct has led to discourses which do not account for the role of sex as a factor of pleasure for women participating in drinking in the NTE leisure sphere. Remaining normatively attractive is a feature of the campaigns, but heterosexual sex is notably absent from the discourses. This perhaps can be interpreted as reproducing respectable normative femininity as not only sober but passionless (Cott, 1978: 220). This particularly Victorian concept, that of the passionless woman, is explored in the mid-19th century sources, and by looking at the attempt to shape women's conduct in a contemporary leisure culture, the conspicuous absence of sex from the discourses of the night out demonstrates further continuities between the mid-19th century campaigns and the contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns.

The presentation of the controlled woman within the NTE, a leisure sphere recognised as a place where determined drunkenness is sought, shows the challenge of neo-liberal economies of leisure in defining the parameters of pleasure. Critcher argues, "In late modern societies, accommodation of individual freedom and consumer choice can prove to be an unpredictable brew. The pursuit of pleasure in public may create disorder on the street." (p43). Leisure is a time and space within which gender is performed, reproduced and constructed, and when the limits of acceptability are perceived to be breached, then the disordered conduct and practices of that leisure practice are the target for reform. The construction of the disorder, and the actions to shape conduct, thus restoring order, are gendered. The practices of disorder constructed in alcohol regulation campaigns in both time periods present the forms of disordered conduct as feminine, such as those explored in part 5.3 and 5.4.

In the tropes of the controlled and the uncontrolled woman, disorder (Douglas, 1966) is a common theme in the construction of women's drinking as a social problem. I will now discuss different facets of disorder that emerged in the analysis process, and explore how these relate to the existing literature.

7.2.2 *Disorder*

The concept of disorder is rarely directly addressed in the literature on women's drinking, in either the contemporary body of literature, or the literature on the mid-19th century. The concept of control is prevalent throughout the findings, as emphasised in the terms I formed to describe the two tropes, the 'controlled' and 'uncontrolled' woman. In considering how women's drinking is constructed as a social problem in the sources examined here, I identified that the loss of control is the primary factor. Disorder is the outcome of loss of control. Disorder is the encompassing theme in the construction of women's drinking as a social problem in the sources, which offers a connection to the existing body of literature.

The dominant themes in the existing body of literature are respectability (Griffin et al, 2012; Davidoff and Hall, 2007: 311), women in public spaces (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003: 148; Smith, 1983: pp. 379 – 380), and the risky sexuality of drinking women (Mackiewicz, 2012: 245; Melnyk, 2008, 123). These themes help to contribute to answering the first research question, how women's drinking is understood as a social problem in the UK. They depict visions of women's drinking as a social problem because of the perceived risky behaviour of female participants in the drinking venues of the NTE. This risky behaviour is a primary cause of disorder, an unwanted outcome of the NTE.

Approaching the potential answer to the question on how women's drinking has been understood as a social problem in the UK, the themes identified in the existing body of literature require closer scrutiny. Why is respectability so pertinent in the construction of women's drinking as a social problem, a contributor to the disorder of the NTE? Why are public spaces so prominent in the literature on women's drinking as a social problem? Precisely what facets of female sexuality are socially problematic, and why do they play a role in the disorder of the NTE? By drawing together existing themes in the literature, and exploring how the body of knowledge generated here relates to them, I intend to gain some answers to these emerging questions.

Respectability is a concept which dominates the literature on women's lives in the 19th century. The theory of "Separate spheres" was formed to explain the patterns of gender ideology, and how it shaped the ways in which women (who sought out respectability) lived. Davidoff and Hall, (2007) argued that it had a powerful influence on the gender ideology shaping the lives of all women in the mid-19th century (p.316). For middle-class women, this essentially structured their lives as taking place in the domestic sphere, with public activity limited to the intermediate sphere of charitable and church activities (Wilson, 1999; 203). Melnyk (2008; 123) argues that middle class gender ideology in the mid-19th century presented a very clear sense of what feminine respectability should look like. The respectable middle class woman presided over the home, ensuring the cleanliness, orderliness and comfort of the body and home (Thompson, 1988: 197). The respectable woman is inherently spiritual and pure, with a delicate body and mind, with her primary interest the moral welfare of her family.

The exploration of respectability, through the theory of separate spheres, looks at the performance of respectability for middle class women. This theory has not gone unquestioned, as Vickery (1993) explores the dominance of the categories of separate spheres, the dialectic of public and private, and the concept of the domestic are treated as unquestioned categories in the historiography of women in the 19th century (p.389). Vickery highlights evidence of subversion of the middle class gender ideology in the lives of privileged women (pp.391 – 392), and considers the ideological power of separate spheres, questioning the extent to which it explains the practices of dividing roles in the semi-formal public roles associated with churches and charitable organisations (p.400).

As is common to the body of literature on female respectability, the primary focus is on the lives and experiences of middle-class women. Whilst Vickery challenges the unflinching acceptance of the concept of the separate sphere, that it was a dominating ideology in the formation of the middle class in the mid-Victorian period, what has not been accounted for is how the ideology of the separate sphere sought to shape conduct of wider (female) society. For working-class women, this was an ideal they could not wholly emulate, because many of these women were in paid employment outside the home, as documented by Tilly and Wallach Scott (1987; 83).

The performance of respectability by working-class women in the sources contains clear reflections of the theory of separate spheres presented in the literature. The Temperance moral reformers promoted notions of cleanliness and moral governance as values of the working class woman of respectable character, as documented in the construction of the controlled woman in the sources examined here, such as ‘A Highland Village’, where the controlled woman presides over the clean and bright hovel cottage, sharply contrasting with the dirty hovels of the uncontrolled, whiskey drinking women. The findings demonstrate that the teetotal working class woman is emulating many of the facets of the behaviours of respectable femininity. These women do not share in the comfort of middle class women, but they uphold key practices of the separate sphere, by creating and maintaining the purity of the home.

In this study, I have explored how disruption of middle-class gender ideology was constructed in materials produced by a Temperance campaign. Through depicting the failure of female respectability, and the transgression of domestic respectability into the street, or the pub, the sources offer an insight into the application of the ideologies entrenched in the theory of separate spheres, in an address to women who disrupt these discourses: the drinking woman.

For example, the presentations of intoxicated women in public places in the mid-19th century temperance campaigns, often feature shame and loss of reputation as a consequence of the actions for women who are intoxicated in public (e.g A scene from life, No. 154; 1846). The ideology of respectability, when applied to working class drinking women, promotes discourses of shame and the loss of reputation, because this middle class gender ideology establishes a standard for female respectability, which these drinking women are transgressing. Gaining reputation, as seen in four of the tracts (It’s never too late, No. 24; 1850: Prize tracts – No. XL. – The traffic in intoxicating liquors, No. 11; 1850: Bridget Larkins, No. 89; 1846: Charles Simpson, No. 43; 1850) is a common point of conclusion in the narratives on the redemption of a drinker through signing the pledge. Women who have traversed the separate spheres, by becoming publicly intoxicated, recover their reputation, gain good character, and are demonstrably meeting the standards set out by middle class gender ideology.

Female respectability was a core component in the construction of women's drinking as a social problem in the mid-19th century because of dominant middle class gender ideology, as explained by the separate spheres theory. The Temperance advocates of the mid-19th century demonstrate a strong adherence to the ideology of separate spheres through the source materials they produced. To understand why they understood how women's drinking was a social problem, it is necessary to look to the dominant gender ideology shaping their norms, values and beliefs about women and their roles in society.

In the contemporary period, debates around feminine respectability in the 1990s collected around the concept of the 'ladette'. Day et al (2004) argue that from the 1990s, the ladette was used as shorthand for women who were loud, visible and (usually) intoxicated (p.171). There is also a debate in the contemporary literature that women's public drinking behaviours are converging with male drinking practices (Measham and Ostergaard, 2009: 415; Griffin, 2009: 460; Holmila and Raitasalo, 2005: 1765).

In this study of contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns, the 'ladettes', young women who are fierce, sexually dominant, drunk and loud, do not appear in the visual or text material. The young, white women are presented in heteronormative dress styles, which are shown in disarray when the woman is intoxicated. However, there are no indications of 'ladette-ish' behaviour. The outcomes for the uncontrolled woman are around loss of attractiveness, shame/regret, and sexual vulnerability. The discourses of the ladette in the media from the 1990s onwards, as discussed by Day et al (2004), the absence of shame for getting drunk and being sexually aggressive, are not repeated here.

The discourses of femininity in the sources present young women who become intoxicated not as ladettes (as defined in media discourses), but reflecting Griffin et al's (2009) findings, they are failing to remain in the 'impossible space' of being sexy, and fun, neither sober nor 'too intoxicated' (Griffin et al, 2009: 15). In Griffin's analysis of how young women experience the risks and pleasures of the night out, she argues that it is a challenging activity for the young drinking women, in which they

are seeking to dress 'sexy', without crossing a perceived line into 'slutty', and to achieve an optimum level of intoxication.

In the sources the uncontrolled woman is demonstrating femininity in their intoxication, through the disarray in their clothes, vomiting, falling over, and in a small number of sources, having unwanted sex, being the victim of sexual assault or rape. The uncontrolled woman is clearly transgressing the preferred form of normative feminine drinking practices, as Griffin argues that the young women in her study sought to achieve (p.15). If the performance of 'ladette-ish' behaviour was as commonplace as media discourses argued, then why would notions of shame be prevalent in the discourses used in alcohol regulation campaigns to shape women's drinking behaviour?

This finding raises some questions about discourses on 'ladette culture'. In Day et al's (2004) study, the media of the 1990s latched onto the idea, as a means of conveying a narrative on the risky sexuality of young drinking women (p. 172). Similarly, in alcohol studies the concept of convergence culture shaped how women's drinking was interpreted as an emulation of masculine drinking cultures (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002: 112). In this study, it is clear that the discourses of ladette culture were not being utilised in the presentation of female intoxication among alcohol regulation campaign groups by the early 2000s. Drawing links with the discussion of Vickery's (1993) debate on the relevance of the theory of separate spheres for understanding women's lives in the 19th century, the omission of the markers of the 'ladette' in the campaign materials examined here raises a significant question. Did the ladette ever featured in these campaigns? Or was the discourse of the ladette only ever a construct used in the media? These questions cannot be answered comprehensively in this study, however indications from the sources examined here demonstrate a construction of intoxicated women who remain distinctively feminine in their transgressive drinking behaviour. As a theory of contemporary female drinking behaviour, is the ladette a useful concept for explaining female drinking behaviours? Or is its relevance limited to media constructs of female drinking?

The role of female respectability in the construction of women's drinking as a social problem in the contemporary period demonstrates as much relevance as it did in the

mid-19th century sources. In the academic research, the media, and alcohol regulation campaigns, respectability is a frequent topic of discussion in understanding women's drinking, and the social problems it causes. Whilst the theory of separate spheres is not a useful way of explaining the roles of women in the UK today, the gender ideology which it explains continues to influence contemporary discourses. When women are transgressing the norms of feminine respectability, they are contributing to the disorder of the NTE. In order to impact on this disorder, female respectability becomes a target of regulatory discourses.

Whilst the findings of this study bring into question the extent to which the discourse of the *ladette* was present outside of the confines of the media, what is evident is the emphasis placed on women's drinking as a social problem when it is taking place in public spaces. In the contemporary sources, only one of the sources shows an uncontrolled woman in a domestic setting (*Catching up – Left Behind, Drinkaware: 2011*). Whilst there are many more instances of uncontrolled women in domestic settings in the mid-19th century sources, the public intoxication of women was presented as a social problem, requiring intervention.

In the existing body of scholarship on the working classes in industrialising urban areas, Smith (1983) argues that the transition taking place in changing urban spaces gave rise to new values concerning sexuality. It is recognised that among the young women in industrialised urban places, there was a new economic and social freedom to engage in flirtation in the leisure space of the public house. As is demonstrated in section 2.5.1, contemporary publications, such as *The Moral Reformer* (1838) emphasised the social problem of young women working in factories, rather than in domestic service, as they had no opportunity to learn the domestic skills (and consequently to gain the middle class moral values) required for running a respectable household.

Smith approaches the social problem of women's drinking from the viewpoint that it is the young female drinker who is the primary cause for concern. In the findings explored here, what becomes evident is that the advocates who created the materials did represent greater diversity of women, whose drinking poses a social problem. Older, widowed women, mothers, middle and working class women are all

constructed with a clear narrative of how their drinking causes social problems. This diversity is likely to be a consequence of the broader focus taken by teetotal temperance advocates, that all forms of alcohol were intoxicating, and that drinking was a social problem in all parts of society. They also sought to communicate their message to a diverse audience, through tracts, speeches and public meetings. Smith is looking at the industrialising city as a space of young people as a primary source of socially problematic behaviours. These sources point to social concerns about drink in a wider demographic in the mid-19th century, than Smith recognised in his work. The narrow focus taken by Smith may be a consequence of the theory of 'Separate spheres'. By assuming that women who sought respectability avoided spending leisure time in public spaces, Smith may have overlooked the presence of older women, married women, mothers and widows in public spaces in sources from the 19th century.

The separate spheres ideology located respectable women firmly out of view from the public. Whilst the validity of this theory for explaining the lived experience of women in the 19th century has been scrutinised (Vickery, 1993: 389) in this study, the power of the separate spheres ideology in the discourses is evident. Thus the visibility to the public of intoxicated women is integral in depicting the transgression of respectable. The visibility of the act serves to emphasise how women's drinking was a social problem, threatening the moral order and wellbeing of the community. Gutzke (2014, 20) makes a case for respectable women only beginning to use public houses when the ladies saloon developed through the 1890s. He does, however, acknowledge that many women, largely not fitting into the middle class notions of respectable femininity, met in the side alleys of public houses to drink and socialise, purchasing alcohol through a 'jug and bottle' hatch next to the alley (pp.16 – 17)

Gutzke's conceptualisation of feminine respectability in the 19th century is strongly influenced by a distinctly middle class gender ideology. He identifies that there were working class women who obtained alcohol via jug and bottle departments, those who drank with husbands at the weekends, reinforcing the dominance of the interior of the public house as a masculine space, not traversed by women seeking to maintain a respectable public character (Gutzke, 2014: 16). However, Gutzke notes that in industrial slums, working class women did go in beer houses. He asserts that the

norms and values of respectability for working class women in industrial slums were irrelevant to the middle class observer of their drinking behaviour (p.17). According to Gutzke's interpretation of working class women's conduct, measuring their conduct against the gender ideology of the day, they would be considered unrespectable women.

From the analysis of source materials produced by mid-19th century Temperance campaigners, it is evident that Gutzke's position on working class women's drinking is very dismissive of the role respectability and good character, played in shaping the lives of working class women. He has a very narrow understanding of how respectability operated for a diverse range of women, especially women in the working classes. In this study, I have identified how the Temperance campaigners used discursive constructions of respectable and transgressive femininity with a greater degree of nuance and subtlety than Smith or Gutzke's conceptualisations would suggest.

In the sources from the mid 19th century examined here, we do see the controlled working class woman as conforming to the ascribed roles of respectable femininity. For example, the impoverished but spotlessly clean hovel cottage in 'A Highland Village' (No. 34: 1850) presents a household where the female occupant presides over a teetotal, clean home. Whilst the comforts of this home are sparse, in comparison to the lavish interiors suggested in the middle class houses presented in these sources (such as, in *The Victim of Excitement*, (No. 78; 1846)) the domestic domain of this controlled woman conforms to the practices encouraged by middle class gender ideology. However, not all the depictions of female respectability in the mid-19th century sources conform to middle class gender ideology.

In 'Bridget Larkins' (No. 89: 1846) a more nuanced set of discourses on female respectability is presented. Even when Bridget is up before the judge for offences committed whilst intoxicated, her good character saves her from longer, more punitive sentences. Bridget is a fascinating character, in that she is violent, she swears and is aggressive to her respectable, male customers, she is frequently drunk and troublesome in her community. Yet she is held in esteem, because of her intelligence (she obtains the best fish for the best price for her stall) and for her action

of saving the life of a drowning toddler, dropped by his intoxicated mother. Bridget loses that esteem when she loses her stall, her source of income, and thus her presence on the street, whilst intoxicated, becomes more problematic.

Bridget Larkins is constructed in direct contravention of the gender norms and practices associated with middle class gender ideology, as she is never inside her home, or other peoples homes. The ideology of the separate sphere would indicate that Bridget cannot be considered respectable as she is economically active outside the home. Furthermore, through her violence and swearing, she is not fulfilling the expectation of passivity and passionlessness (Cott, 1978: 220). Indeed, the author notes that Bridget is a woman of robust health; she does not possess the delicacy of body or mind which inclines middle class women to sickness, compelling them to remain at home. This leads to the question, what does the tract on Bridget Larkins tell us about notions of female respectability and drinking alcohol in the mid-19th century?

Based upon the findings of this study, I argue that the notion of feminine respectability which Gutzke presents is too narrow. The dismissal of the experiences of respectability for working class women in industrial towns, because they do not meet the expectations of middle class gender ideology, lacks insight into the nuances of respectability. The authors of the Temperance tracts recognised subtle, nuanced interpretations of female respectability in public. Bridget is a figure of public disorder, becoming intoxicated and committing public nuisance, yet she is recognised as possessing good character, thus the public judgement of her is not wholly negative. The lack of recognition of the subtleties of performing feminine respectability, especially for working class drinking women, is something that emerged in some of the literature on contemporary women's drinking, such as that by Griffin et al (2009: 465).

The prominence of public spaces as scenes of disorder, in which women's drinking is a social problem in the mid 19th century sources, can be explained by the increased visibility of working class women in urban spaces. Industrialisation brought about changes in the urban drinking landscape, in which women became much more visible participants. For the middle class inhabitants of these towns, especially those

influenced by non-conformist beliefs, the disorder of the public space was something to be reformed. A prime target for reform was women's drinking, as the dominant middle class gender ideology presented a version of femininity which sharply contrasted with the drinking women seen on the street. Therefore, to understand how the Victorians understood women's drinking as a social problem, it is important to understand the challenge to middle class gender ideology posed by the drinking woman in public.

The complexities of performing respectable femininity whilst drinking for women in the contemporary period is acknowledged by several of the major contributors to alcohol studies (Griffin et al, 2009; Mackiewicz, 2012; de Visser and McDonnell, 2012). This is particularly apparent in the debates on the contradictions and tensions of inhabiting the NTE. It is often a space of disorder, yet one in which the young women drinkers must occupy public spaces with their bodies visibly demonstrating control and order, through their hypersexual dress styles (Griffin et al, 2012: 3) and their emphasis on being fun, but not 'too' intoxicated (Mackiewicz, 2012: 245; Blackman et al, 2015: 52). In some studies on gender, sexuality and drink, discussion groups drew out how some groups of women were actively 'othering' those who publicly became intoxicated, whose clothes and styles transgressed a boundary of acceptable sexuality (Rudolfsdottir and Morgan, 2009: 500; Mackiewicz, 2012:237).

In the source material examined in this study affirms many of the assertions made in the literature, that women who drink in public bars are inhabiting a contradictory space. The visual markers of the controlled woman, being vertical, apparel carefully arranged and smiling, show the 'correct' way to be a woman when participating in the NTE. These visual markers are all facets given attention by the research participants in the literature indicated in the previous paragraph. The indication that the discourses presented in the sources confirm the discourses of the young female drinking participants in those studies shows that there are gendered drinking discourses shaping how young women perceive the correct way to perform their gendered drinking practices in the NTE. There is a sense emerging from the literature, confirmed by the discourses explored in these sources, that the NTE is a disordered public space, in which women are discursively constructed as in control, whilst participating in the disorderly, yet fun, action of the space.

What cannot be identified from this study, is the extent to which these types of materials are perpetuating gender ideology, or they go unnoticed by young drinking women. We do not have much of a sense of what drinking women in the mid-19th century thought about the depictions of drinking women in the Temperance materials. I argue that the discourses represented in the materials produced by alcohol regulation campaign groups, over both time periods, were just one source among many, shaping gendered discourses on how women should perform their femininity through their actions relating to drinking alcohol. Through this study, I have identified how the subtleties in gender discourse on women, alcohol and respectability in the mid-19th century that have not been recognised prior to this study. By drawing links to the understanding of the nuances young drinking women experience when inhabiting the contradictory space of the NTE in the contemporary period, new knowledge on how respectability operated in the mid-19th century has emerged.

As in the mid-19th century, the final decade of the 20th century was a period of considerable change in the ways in which women participated in public spaces, especially in drinking activities. Issues of disorder are as pertinent in the contemporary period as in the mid-19th century, however the agents for monitoring and shaping behaviour have moved from the church and charitable organisations, to state acts and actors. In the attempts to impact on disorder in public spaces in the contemporary period, women's drinking practices become a target for reform. The construction of women's drinking as a social problem has created a specific set of gendered experiences of participating in the NTE. The prominence of public spaces, and the visibility of drinking women within them, in alcohol regulation campaign materials, points to concerns about public disorder as pertinent to understanding how women's drinking is understood as a social problem in the contemporary period.

So far, I have considered how the drinking woman is a social problem by causing disorder, especially when it is taking place in public spaces. However, this is not the only space in which women's drinking is a social problem. Themes of respectability are attached to the performance of femininity in public spaces, both in the existing body of literature, and the sources examined in this study. The theory of separate

spheres is particularly pertinent to understanding how constructions of respectability were pertinent to shaping women's drinking practices in the mid-19th century. Another facet of the separate spheres ideology in the mid-19th century is how it placed particular emphasis on the role of women in ensuring the moral welfare of the family. As discussed in section 2.5, the purpose of moral suasion was to shape the conduct of working class women, with particular emphasis on the role of the mother in maintaining the health and ensuring the moral education of the family.

In the literature review, I explored the body of knowledge on women drinking, in which women's absence from the home, and perceived poor childcare, are given particular emphasis by moral reformers who identified women's drinking as a new social problem, a disorder caused by urban growth, and the emergence of the Beer shop or Jerry house (Mason, 2001: 115). In the literature produced in the mid-19th century, such as the prison reports by John Clay, and the commentaries produced in Temperance newspapers and magazines, the discussion of maternity and morality as the social problems arising from women's drinking emphasise the problems of impoverished women, usually in urban settings (The Moral Reformer, February 1851: 6). The social disorder caused by drinking mothers in urban slums is not a surprising focus for mid-19th century moral reformers and commentators.

Similarly, it was not a surprise that the neglect of the moral welfare of the family is one of the most prevalent components of the construction of women's drinking as a social problem in the mid 19th century temperance tracts. However, in this study I have uncovered narratives in which middle-class (apparently respectable) females are also creating social disorder through drinking. This demonstrates a recognition amongst temperance advocates that any woman could experience a problem relationship with alcohol, and that it was not only impoverished, urban slum dwelling women who posed a risk of social disorder. An initial reading of literature from the 19th century on social disorder appears to firmly focus on the impoverished or working-class woman. In the existing literature, working class women are presented as endeavouring to provide the best level of care to her family, taking into account variable incomes and means of providing food and clothing. That there was concern enough about middle-class women to publish tracts which addressed their drinking

behaviours, tells us that the strength of discourses on maternity and morality traversed the social class boundaries.

The focus on women as mothers, as a factor of women's drinking as a social problem in the mid-19th century, is another demonstration of the prevalence of middle class gender ideology in shaping women's lives. The sources show that both slum dwelling working class mothers, and middle class mothers, were targeted in the discourses on women's drinking as a social problem. In the mid-19th century, motherhood is a significant factor in how women's drinking was understood as a social problem. This has declined significantly in the construction of women's drinking as a social problem in the contemporary body of scholarship, and in the contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns. The dominance of young women in the literature on the contemporary period has resulted in the decline in maternity and morality as themes in the construction of women's drinking as a social problem. Instead, it now focused on the risky sexuality of the drinking woman.

In the existing body of scholarship on contemporary women's drinking, one area of exploration has been the prevalence of hyper-sexual body styles of young women going out in the mainstream night time economy venues. Griffin et al (2012:4) Mackiewicz (2012: 245) and Doherty (2013) have all explored the sexy dress styles of young women, with Griffin et al (2009, 2012) and Mackiewicz (2012) focusing on the challenge of 'getting it right' in being sexy but not slutty, thus affirming the respectable femininity of the young woman. Doherty (2013) takes a different approach, in that she identifies the time and energy put into the hyper-sexual styles of young women as a pleasurable and creative activity which enhances their enjoyment of the night out. However, sexy dress styles are something to be carefully managed, along with specific practices whilst drinking on the night out, such as not leaving drinks unattended or choosing bottled drinks (Sheard, 2011: 628) to avoid drink spiking, a drugging practice commonly associated with rape and sexual assault.

To summarise, the body of literature on contemporary women's drinking presents the issue of disorder, the social problem created by women drinking, as a consequence of the sexuality of the drinking women. Women's sexuality is created as something at

risk, which must be protected through the actions of the young woman when she is participating in drinking.

The materials examined in this study have placed a huge emphasis on women's sexuality as a primary theme of disorder. These materials reproduce elements of hyper-sexual dress styles, as are commonly described in the literature. Young, white women are presented in short dresses, wearing high heels, make up and glamorous hair styles. All of these objects become dishevelled or damaged when the young woman is presented as intoxicated, demonstrating the loss of carefully managed control of her body.

Going beyond dishevelled clothes, as a discursive construction of loss of control, is the explicit presentation of rape and unwanted sex as a consequence of intoxication. The continuity of this narrative in the presentation of the uncontrolled woman in alcohol regulation campaigns draws attention to the construction of women's drinking as a social problem because their risky sexuality is a cause of disorder.

The shift from morality to maternity, to risky sexuality, as the focus of women's drinking as a social problem is reflective of the demographics of women who are considered as primary users of public drinking spaces in each of the time periods. These perceptions then shape how the social problem caused by women's drinking is discursively constructed. That the young women who go out drinking in the NTE in the contemporary era are not perceived as, or presented as, mothers, has resulted in a focus on their drinking as a social problem due to risky sexuality. This is a change of focus from the concerns about maternity and motherhood in the mid-19th century sources. This may be reflecting the demographic of women identified as the primary users of the NTE in contemporary society. The shift in focus cannot be fully explored here, as this study has not examined maternal alcohol advice. What can be asserted is that one change in focus in how women's drinking is understood as a social problem did take place between the mid 19th century and the contemporary period. The contemporary perception of which women are using public drinking venues, and the focus on drinking in public spaces has reinforced whose drinking is considered to be disruptive or disorderly. This returns us to the theme of the visibility of women's

transgressing normative femininity as an important factor in the discourses on women's drinking as a social problem.

From the discussion of the literature on women's drinking and the sources examined in this study, three factors emerged as important to understanding how women's drinking is understood as a social problem in the UK. The explanations for why these factors – respectability, public spaces and risky sexuality – are presented are in the dominant gender ideology of the period. What I have shown in this discussion is that historical formations of gender ideology continue to shape the ways in which women's drinking is understood as a social problem.

7.3 How do alcohol regulation campaigns seek to shape normative feminine drinking practices?

In chapter three, I explored theoretical approaches to explaining how women's drinking behaviours are shaped by external forces. In section 3.2, I presented Gerritsen's (2000) ideas on the interrelatedness of different modes of regulation. These modes were described as on a linear scale, from highly formalised, external modes (such as legal interventions) to informal, internalised forms of self-regulation (Gerritsen, 2000: 3). I argued that there was an implied hierarchy in the structure put forward by Gerritsen, that whilst the different modes of regulation are interrelated, the impact they have on the control of the individual varies.

The incarceration of the intoxicated female is a theme presented in the mid-19th century sources, with several instances of asylums and a prison noted in the narratives (Strong drink in the house, No. 39, 1850; Bridget Larkins, by Mrs. S. C. Hall, No. 89, 1846). However, being 'taken away', whether to prison, the asylum, or hospital, is a less frequent narrative in the sources than the visibility of shameful actions whilst intoxicated for the drinking female. This suggests that the ways in which regulatory modes operate may be differential according to the identity of the drinker. The highly formal, external modes of regulation play a much smaller part in the regulatory modes which shape women's drinking, in comparison to community (both physical and virtual) judgement, and self regulation. This finding could be shaped by the history of

fewer women being incarcerated for drinking, compared to men, or by gendered assumptions of how women perform their intoxication.

Considering that alcohol regulation campaigns seek to shape women's drinking practices through emphasising informal, external and informal, internal modes of regulation, I have identified the techniques through which they operate. These techniques are the means by which alcohol regulation campaign groups seek to shape normative feminine drinking practices, in both periods.

The alcohol regulation campaigns seek to shape feminine drinking practices through presenting women who remain sober or drink moderately (depending on the time period) and the consequences for women who become intoxicated. By focusing on the values and practices of the uncontrolled and the controlled woman, the alcohol regulation campaigns are operating techniques to shape drinking behaviour of women by presenting how women of good character behave, and making direct comparisons to women of failed character. Using the term character, I am drawing attention to the assumed values and beliefs of women whom seek to present a respectable self.

When Valverde and Weir (2006) argued for greater attention to the processes of moral regulation, they drew attention to the lack of knowledge on the techniques of moral regulation. Taking an approach to moral regulation which acknowledges the multiplicity of sites of origin of moral regulation projects (Ruonavaara, 1997) the problematisation of women's drinking can be seen as part of a response to a perceived shift in the values and practices of women in society. In the mid-19th century, rural to urban migration during periods of industrial growth, with the emergence of the beer shop, led to women's drinking becoming visible, and thus subject to greater problematisation. In the last decade of the 20th century, women's increased participation in the NTE, one which drove a new culture of determined drunkenness, prompted a similar reaction, as women were publicly, visibly intoxicated.

The presentation of uncontrolled and controlled women in the alcohol regulation campaign materials from each time period tell us that the construction of the problem was not so much the intoxication of women, but the rejection or failure to meet the expectations of normative feminine drinking practices. The techniques of presenting

controlled and uncontrolled women in the campaign materials, often using forms of contrast to highlight the norms and values of ideal femininity, shows how regulating conduct in relation to a substance, such as alcohol, is part of a wider range of regulatory discourses shaping the ideals of femininity, including diet and exercise. Therefore, the alcohol regulation campaigns use distinctive techniques to shape women's drinking practices, which are part of the reproduction of dominant gender ideologies, and operate on the assumption that women possess the attribute of 'character', the factor which motivates the female drinker to maintain normative feminine drinking practices.

7.3.1 Discourses of control – asserting sobriety/controlled drinking as a feminine characteristic

The discourses of control in the sources reproduce an assumption about gender and consumption. Women, as a key practice of their normative femininity, are assumed to be compelled to maintain bodily control; therefore they practice controlled drinking behaviour, either through abstinence or careful monitoring of their levels of intoxication whilst drinking. The 'factor' which compels women to present this behaviour, as I have identified in these sources, is character.

One of the key motifs of the narratives concerning the uncontrolled woman in sources from both periods is the loss or absence of character. Character is pertinent to the construction of the woman who becomes intoxicated, as the explanation for why this woman is transgressing normative femininity. The assumed character of normative feminine 'Controlled' women in the alcohol regulation campaigns remains startlingly similar in both time periods. The character of controlled woman values cleanliness, maintaining conventional attractiveness and the duty to care for others. A strong feminine character thus operates to ensure the woman avoids intoxication, either through carefully moderated alcohol consumption, or abstinence.

The presentation of the uncontrolled woman as 'another you', as identified in the contemporary sources, is a useful device for constructing intoxication as a state of 'character-less' femininity. The sources with the title 'When you drink too much another you takes over' (2010) present intoxication as the precursor to the woman

urinating on a bus, and in a second source, as having unwanted sex. That the woman would not have performed these acts had she drunk moderately suggests that the loss of character is a short term consequence of intoxication. This idea is affirmed by the presentation of the 'Zombie drunk' in 'Night of the reckless drunk' (2013). Drawing on themes of the zombie, as a known person transformed into a monstrous being, the intoxication of the woman transforms her into another, a characterless being. This narrative raises a question over whether the intoxication causes the loss of character, or if loss of character causes a woman to fail to moderate her drinking.

This question is answered by looking to the overarching theme of the contemporary sources, that the woman the alcohol regulation campaign is addressing is being pointed to the consequence of intoxication (falling over, lying in the gutter, losing a shoe, vomiting, unwanted sex, rape). Using the personal pronoun of 'You' throughout the materials addresses the assumed audience. By directly addressing a viewer who is positioned as possessing good character, the materials direct the viewer to consider how they would not become intoxicated, as this would be diametrically opposite to their normative feminine values.

The 'character' factor is something which is not addressed in the literature on the theory of moral regulation. Valverde and Weir (2006) asked for further research into how moral regulation acts to shape the individual. I argue that the findings explored in this study have drawn attention to the concept of character, which is presented through discourses on women and drink to shape individual self-formation and self-regulation, in a moral regulation project. Character is an integral function in the ways alcohol regulation campaigns have sought to shape women's drinking practices.

The concept of character as a key technique of the alcohol regulation campaigns in both time periods is particularly significant in considering the historical continuities uncovered in this study. In both time periods, feminine character is the focal point for shaping feminine drinking conduct in the materials produced by the alcohol regulation campaign groups. It is the term I have applied to refer to both the inner trait of the individual which is assumed to respond to discourses on feminine drinking practices. It also refers to the external recognition and evaluation of the possession of 'good/bad character' of the individual, depending on the judgement of the behaviours they are

identified as presenting to others. This approach to ‘character’ relates to the concepts of subjectivity and self, one of the points of focus for postmodern and poststructural theories of the formation of identity. The subject, as Mansfield argues, carries “the sense of entanglement.....the way our immediate daily life is always already caught up in complex political, social and philosophical – that is, shared – concerns.” (2000: 2). The self is formed as a subject of the social, cultural and political context in which one is situated. The core norms and values of the self are a production of subjectification. Rose (1999) argues that,

“Subjectification is simultaneously individualising and collectivising. That is to say that the kinds of relations to the self envisaged, the kinds of dispositions and habits inculcated, the very inscription of governmentality into the body and the affects of the governed depend upon an opposition: In identifying with one’s proper name as a subject one is simultaneously identifying oneself with a collectivised identity, and differentiating oneself from the kind of being one is not.” (p.46).

In this definition, clear similarities in the conceptual approach to character taken in this thesis can be identified, in that character is the site of focus for shaping conduct, and subjectification is the process by which norms and values are inscribed on the body, therefore the subject internalises proper modes of governance of the self. This study has utilised the concept of character in place of subjectivity because it offers greater clarity of focus on the moralising forces at play in these regulation projects. The subject, and subjectification, do not emphasise the specificity of the process of shaping normative feminine drinking practices in these reform projects as character indicates. The breadth of ‘forces’ which are inscribed on the individual as subjectification indicates, the full social, political and cultural milieu of the subject, fails to draw attention to the specific technique that has been identified as the core continuity across both time periods in alcohol regulation campaigns. Character draws attention to the external moral evaluation that is essential to the shaping of feminine drinking conduct, whilst attempting to shape self-regulation through the presentation of the transgressive and the normative, the uncontrolled and the controlled, to the viewer. Character, therefore, draws attention to the moralising processes which alcohol regulation campaigns operate, by focusing on character as the site of reform, and highlighting the external evaluation of character enacted through drinking conduct.

Character was particularly significant in the formation of the Victorian world view (Collini, 2007: 224). In considering the role of character in the intellectual history of the Victorians, Collini considers how character informed debate on economic and political life (p. 225). The relationship of character to reputation, that “Although the classic scenes of character-testing are essentially private...it was also true that character was an ascribed quality, possessed and enjoyed in public view.” (p.225) As character took on the meaning of public displays of private values and virtues, it informed the theories on how conduct was to be regulated. Moral regulation theory has paid little attention to the processes of individual self formation, and drawing attention to the role of character provides a path to understanding the techniques used to shape conduct.

7.3.2 Reflecting on the technology of character, and hunger as ideology

The significance of this finding on the concept of character as a key motif in discourses seeking to shape the individual in alcohol regulation campaigns, raises questions about Bordo’s essay, which I presented as offering a route to examining the techniques operating in a moral regulation project. By examining the techniques used by alcohol regulation campaigns, through Bordo’s theories on the formation of women’s bodies, I sought to gain a clear insight into the details of the processes by which alcohol regulation campaigns seek to form and shape feminine drinking practices.

In the theory chapter, I discussed Bordo’s (2003) examination of the slender body as indifferent to appetite, of moderation as an inherently feminine approach to food, and appetite as something belonging to men more than women.

When Bordo discusses the slender normative femininity alluded to in both cigarette and diet-aid products, this woman is presented as ‘Undominated by unsatisfied internal need, she eats not only freely but without deep desire and without apparent consequence. Its’ “easy” she says.” (p. 102). Whilst Bordo does not discuss character, here she is presenting a construction of femininity in which slenderness is maintained not through effort, but through an assumed indifference to food as a core practice of the feminine character. The controlled woman, similarly, has a cool relationship to

alcohol. The suggestion is that these women take no pleasure or feel no compulsion to drink alcohol. This is very similar to the discourses on the lack of ‘internal need’ identified by Bordo. This leads to the question, what does the finding on the concept of character mean for Bordo’s theory of the slender body as a discourse shaping conduct around food?

The central thesis of Bordo’s work is that the discursive construction of the slender feminine body emerges as women’s position in society changed, to take up ‘more space’ in the public, economic sphere. The consequence was to discursively shape women’s bodies to take up less space, as their economic presence grew. This leads to a normative femininity in which the micropractices of female behaviour are based around indifference to food, lack of appetite, of hunger as a masculine practice. What Bordo has not explored is how these discourses can be assumed to shape feminine practices.

I argue, based on the findings here, that it is the assumption of feminine character, which drives the imperative to reproduce these discourses in an attempt to shape feminine conduct. Bordo has pointed to a historical development of discourses of slenderness which reproduce a gender ideology of self-restraint and control (p.130). This gender ideology is strikingly similar to that deployed in the alcohol regulation campaign materials produced in both time periods. The discourses of moderation/abstinence are used as disciplinary techniques to present intoxication as a transgression of normative femininity, something the feminine character will actively avoid. Therefore, the controlled woman presented in the alcohol regulation campaign materials is presenting behaviours which demonstrate her feminine character. She will always avoid intoxication (either through moderation or abstinence) in order to preserve her visible, public feminine respectability through cleanliness, caring and moral governance of the self and others.

The contribution to understanding how Bordo’s theories on the discourses of the slender female body, which I have developed in this study, is the assumption of feminine character, as the imperative for women to reproduce normative feminine practices, such as how to eat food, and how to drink alcohol. Therefore, the feminine

character is a core aspect of the disciplinary technique utilised in moral regulation projects.

In Bordo's analysis of the discourses on the slender female body addresses many similar themes to those identified in the analysis of the alcohol regulation campaign materials examined in this study. Bordo argues that the contemporary diet product adverts she examines are operating to instruct on gender appropriate behaviour, linking them to Victorian conduct manuals which gave direct instruction on how to consume food in a feminine manner (p. 112). In the same way, alcohol regulation campaign materials are not only seeking to encourage specific ways of drinking (moderation or abstinence) but serve to reinforce gender constructions of femininity in which indulgence, or intoxication, are clear transgressions.

Bordo also points to the presentation of hunger (when not controlled through diet aids or cool indifference) as an animalistic, uncontrollable monster: 'a woman, her appetite suppressant worn off, hurtling across the room, drawn like a living magnet to the breathing, menacing refrigerator, hunger is represented as an insistent, powerful force with a life of its own.' (p. 103).

The alcohol regulation campaigns use the construction of the uncontrolled woman as compelled to drink, and in drinking, immediately immersing into a state of insanity, in a vivid account of the irrationality of the uncontrolled woman. The uncontrolled woman lacks character; therefore when she is not restrained by external influences to remain abstinent, she enters a state of intoxicated insanity. These types of action are contravening the norms of the feminine character. The construction of the characterless woman as irrational is intrinsic to the disciplinary techniques employed in the alcohol regulation campaign materials.

Bordo makes an assertion about the ways in which women's sexuality is deployed as a disciplinary discourse in food advertisements. She argues, 'When women are positively depicted as sensuously voracious about food, (almost never in commercials, and only very rarely in movies and novels), their hunger for food is employed solely as a metaphor for their sexual appetite' (p. 110). By constructing intoxication as a precursor to transgressing feminine respectability through sex, rape and sexual assault,

the alcohol regulation campaigns seek to show how the failure of character results in irrational or risky decisions, such as being walked home by a stranger, or having sex which is regretful the next day. The threat of unleashing the irrational, characterless, monstrous self through intoxication is used as one of the most hard-hitting disciplinary discourses to impact on women's drinking behaviour.

Bordo's thesis on the discursive construction of the feminine body drew attention to the micro-practices of femininity operating in the moral regulation of women's drinking. I have sought to gain an understanding of how women's drinking is regulated through alcohol regulation campaign groups, and whilst I have not addressed how this is experienced by female drinkers, I have explored how the campaigns seek to impact these practices, and uncovered the assumptions of feminine character as imperative to the operation of the techniques used in the campaign materials. In Bordo's analysis of hunger and slenderness as feminine, there are signs of processes of moral regulation, in the construction of wrongness of conduct, and in the use of the disciplinary discourses. However, the materials she examines, in this essay particularly, are adverts for food products. This is why the phenomena that Bordo examined cannot be called a moral regulation project.

Moral regulation projects are driven by a sense of wrongness of a specific form of conduct, which requires regulatory intervention, and their origins are both from state and extra-state organisations. This means the materials that Bordo examined are not part of a distinctive moral regulation project. Advertisements, to sell food products, use existing discourses of what lifestyles, and body shapes are aspired to in the social context in which they are produced. The discourses Bordo found are utilised with the purpose of selling a product. The advertiser has recognised the dominant social values of the time period, and uses these to show how their product can improve the life of the purchaser. In this context, the food products improve the life of the female consumer because they enable her to indulge in unhealthy food, such as chocolate, whilst maintaining a slim body, because the servings are very small. However, these messages may be informed by discourses on health, disseminating from the state and extra state organisations, which may produce discourses on the slender feminine body as shaping normative feminine practices.

In seeking to answer the second research question, how alcohol regulation campaigns have sought to shape women's drinking practice, I have explored theoretical approaches to the productions by campaigns to shape conduct, based on a perception of the wrongness of a specific form of conduct. The materials examined present two tropes of femininity, which show the outcomes of normative or transgressive feminine drinking practices. These discourses are utilised on the assumption that the female viewer possesses the quality of 'character', thus are compelled to regulate their individual conduct, to be normatively feminine in their drinking practices. This technique demonstrates how moral regulation seeks to operate, from extra-state organisations to the individual. In section 7.5, I will argue that the significant finding of this study, that the feminine character is a core factor in the techniques used to shape conduct in the discourses contained within the materials produced by extra-state organisations. Presently, I shall turn to the question on what impact the historical comparison has served to inform the findings of this study.

7.4 Can a historical comparison aid a better understanding of why alcohol regulation campaigns use these discursive formations?

In the decision to undertake a historical comparative analysis of the regulation of women's drinking, I aimed to find out how contemporary gendered discourses on drinking alcohol developed. The assertions of Nicholls, that women's drinking is a perennial issue (2009: 2), influenced how I considered the role of historical formation of discourses. If women's drinking is a perennial concern (Nicholls, 2009: 2) then it should also be a perennial target for regulation.

The time period selection is defined in detail in section 4.3. Here it is important to note how identified similarities in the drinking landscape, alcohol policy, and women's place in the drinking landscape, were primary factors in identifying these time periods in which the enactment of regulatory discourses should share some core similarities. These core similarities were around the reduced formal, external regulation in the sale of alcohol, and the role of extra-state organisations in shaping drinking practices.

However, there were some clear differences in the two sets of data which I compared, which are primarily a consequence of the differences in the social and cultural context. These were reflected in the differences in some of the themes, narratives, objects and locations presented in the sources. The differences include an emphasis on events in the narratives in the 19th century predominantly taking place in domestic settings, whereas the events in the contemporary sources are almost exclusively in public settings such as bars, clubs or the street.

This dominance of the domestic as the setting for the events and objects reflects a Victorian middle class obsession with the domestic sphere as a place of cleanliness, orderliness and Godliness (Melnik, 2008: 123). That the controlled woman presides over a clean and tidy space, no matter what her wealth or poverty, is indicative of her character. The uncontrolled woman, however, resides in domestic spheres in which dirt is present.

In the contemporary sources, the dominance of drinking in a public setting reflects two factors about the intent of these alcohol regulation campaign materials. Firstly, the campaigns are seeking to impact on the drinking that takes place in the Night Time Economy, in the bars and pubs of urban centres. This is the specific drinking practice which is problematised in contemporary discourses on women's drinking. Secondly, the materials produced by the organisations are very frequently located in public bars or nightclubs, the locations where women may be engaging in the problematic drinking practices they seek to impact upon. It also reflects the very specific demographic focus on women drinkers in contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns.

Additionally, through comparing the constructions of the controlled and the uncontrolled woman in each time period, it was clear that there was a greater diversity in feminine identities of both controlled and uncontrolled women in the mid-19th century sources, compared with the materials produced in the contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns. In every source examined, the women represented are young, white and slim. These representations reinforce a white, normative femininity, as slender and youthful. These young women dress up, wear makeup and high heels, reflecting some of the practices of the NTE as noted by Mackiewicz (2012: 245). The

sources show that the forms of drinking which are constructed as a social problem, that possess a sense of wrongness in the conduct of the drinker, is the young, white female participant who drinks in the Night Time Economy. This very specific demographic focus reflects a discourse on young female drinkers which emerged in the 1990s with the binge drinker and the ladette (Day et al, 2004: 171). One source does present drinking in the home, as an act of pre-loading, drinking alcohol before beginning the night out ('Catching up – Left behind. Drinkaware, 2011). This does not reflect greater changes in drinking practices in the UK, as noted by Holloway (2008) in a study of domestic drinking.

In the materials produced in the mid-19th century, the women presented are far more diverse, to include uncontrolled women who are older, married, widowed, mothers, young women, poor and wealthy. The use of the same techniques to impact upon the drinking of a much more diverse collective of women reflected a concern in the temperance movements of the drinking practices of all women, not solely young women, as the source of alcohol related social problems

Some of the differences are related to the scope of the alcohol regulation campaign groups themselves. The aims and aspirations of the campaigns in each period are quite different. The temperance organisations in the mid-19th century were dominated by teetotal temperance theories (as discussed in chapter 2) whereas the contemporary campaigns reflect policy narratives of neo-liberalism which promote self-monitoring of consumption and healthy living.

During the period examined in this study the dominant form of temperance advocacy was teetotalism, the theory of total abstinence from all forms of alcohol, even for medicinal or religious purposes. The dominance of this theory is evident in the frequency with which total abstinence is presented as the only solution for the uncontrolled woman to achieve redemption of character. A good example of this is 'The craving of a drunkard, illustrated: In an extract of a letter from a friend (No. 108; 1846). This tract gives the example of a young woman who is rescued and made sober by charitable friends, who is then mistakenly given alcohol when unwell, leading to the total loss of character of the woman.

In the contemporary period, abstinence is only presented as the ideal form of feminine drinking practiced for pregnant women, or those wishing to conceive (Department of Health, 2016). For all other women, the aim of the alcohol regulation campaigns is moderation. The definition of moderate drinking has been evolving since the first unit guidelines were published in 1995. However, as was seen in these alcohol regulation campaign materials, the number or types of drinks which are categorised as moderate are not identified. The absence of factual information is important. The alcohol regulation campaigns of the period 2004 – 2014 were dominated by images depicting the consequence of binge drinking, presenting moderate drinking, whilst continuing to participate in the Night Time Economy, as the desirable practice. This reflects the role of drinking venues in urban regeneration projects of the 1990s (Nicholls, 2009: 219), which relied upon increased footfall that women were integral in maintaining. Going out remains a glamorised activity in the campaigns, one in which the drinker is expected to participate, purchasing entry to bars, and purchasing drinks, whilst maintaining control of their inherently risky female bodies.

The temperance organisations were distinctively faith-driven; therefore the role of God and faith in the mid-19th century sources is visible to the audience, whereas the contemporary sources are produced by local authorities and charities, organisations which, in this case, are secular, and do not make reference to faith in the construction of the narratives in the materials they produce.

In chapter two, I examined the role of the Christian church in the formation and place of temperance organisations in the mid-19th century, particularly the non-conformist Christian organisations (Melnik, 2008: 86). Whilst the secularisation thesis argues that the decline in church participation began in the 19th century, (McWilliam and Boyd, 2007: 244) growth in non-conformism in the growing industrialising towns supported the role of temperance organisations mirroring discourses of self-improvement, abstinence and public participation. In the sources, ministers play an essential role in educating women who are victims of male intoxication (*The Story of a Wife's Endurance*, No. 32, 1850) and are drinkers themselves (*Is I not happy? An interesting account of a very poor old woman*, By the Rev. Hugh Stowell, A.M. No. 32, 1846). This reflects the practices of the non-conformist churches, to seek to

redeem the drinker through actions: Preaching, pledging, parading and visiting (Bebbington, 2011: 3). .

The clear division between the alcohol regulation campaigns in each period, with the role for church and God in the mid-19th century, and its total absence in the contemporary period, reflects wider shifts towards secular policy discourses. However, it is evident from the sources examined here that the establishment of the narratives of character and characterlessness in the 19th century, as social identity with considerable power, is replicated within the contemporary, albeit secular campaigns.

In considering the third research question, can a historical comparison aid a better understanding of why alcohol regulation campaigns use specific discursive formations, the value of undertaking such an exercise is because the continuities in the themes between the sources has highlighted a disciplinary technique that may have otherwise remained hidden. This finding highlights the purpose of undertaking historical comparative research, argued by Shore and Cox (2002) in their analysis of delinquency across Europe,

In stressing the benefits of an analysis of delinquency that moves beyond the historically and nationally specific to consider developments across time and space, it allows a new look at the old idea of the *long duree*. The patterns of similar concerns and processes explored here clearly cannot be explained in terms of an older grand narrative of economic change and capital (re)formation. Yet they might be explained in terms of a broader raft of powerful and enduring narratives, in which the economic is located alongside the familial, the life cyclical, the religious, the moral, the shameful, the patriarchal, the scientific, and so on. (p. 3)

In this study, the endurance of the discourse of women's drinking as a social problem, with variations in the fine detail of the ideal and the transgressive drinker in each period, demonstrates a pattern which Shore and Cox (2002) find in a raft of studies of youth delinquency from 1650 to 1950. The discourses around delinquent behaviour, over time and in different countries, demonstrate similar concerns about "urban culture, poor parenting, dangerous pleasures, family breakdown, national fitness and future social stability." (p.2). Undertaking historical comparative research enables a clearer understanding of how discourses on women's drinking as a social problem are formed, and how contemporary discourses came to reproduce so many facets of 19th century gender ideology.

Through the historical comparison, the presence of the two tropes, of the uncontrolled and the controlled woman, as a historical continuity, highlighted how discourses on female conduct in the contemporary period have endured from the mid-19th century, despite considerable change in women's social, economic and political roles. These tropes are used as a technique to shape conduct, because of an assumption of female character, as a trait which leads the female viewer to reproduce the preferred form of drinking practice. As discussed in section 7.3, character is a term which is not used in the contemporary sources. By identifying the discursive similarities between the two periods, the presence of this concept in the contemporary sources was illuminated. Therefore, the value of undertaking a historical comparative analysis is because it has illuminated a distinctive technology of self-regulation, which shows how alcohol regulation campaigns in both time periods sought to impact on women's drinking practices through the use of ideal and transgressive feminine identities, as an act of moral regulation.

7.4.1 Discourses

The emergence of two typologies of woman in the alcohol regulation campaigns presented the first form of continuity in the alcohol regulation campaigns. The frequency with which an intoxicated woman was juxtaposed with a sober/moderate drinking woman in both the mid 19th century sources and the contemporary alcohol regulation campaign material was evident from the start of the analysis of the data. This technique of juxtaposition is pivotal in seeking to shape the viewer's drinking practices by presenting the behaviour of one type of woman as wrong alongside another who is presenting correct values and practices in relation to alcohol.

The trope of the uncontrolled woman is used as a technique to present the outcomes of transgressing normative femininity through drinking alcohol to intoxication. The discourses of the uncontrolled woman as transgressing normative femininity through her drinking practices are shown through objects and values. These include dirt, and the loss or absence of respectability.

The discursive construction of the controlled woman is ultimately to demonstrate the correctness of her conduct, to give a clear juxtaposition to the viewer of the

superiority of such actions, through objects, and especially, through the outcomes of practices in the narratives concerning the controlled woman. The controlled woman maintains and practices an outward demonstration of her inner character, which ensures she is clean, wears ‘proper’ forms of dress, and is valued highly by her family, friends and community. The presentation of the controlled woman as inherently compassionate, through acts of charity (or kindness) to others, especially intoxicated men and women. Furthermore, the controlled woman is presented as meeting the expectations of heteronormative feminine attractiveness, through her apparel, body, hair and makeup. However, this feminine attractiveness is not linked to sexual desirability or activity. The controlled woman in the contemporary alcohol regulation campaign materials is depicted with other females, in sexually neutral poses. In the mid-19th century sources, the controlled woman is presented without reference to the sexuality of her feminine attractiveness. She meets the visual expectations of attractiveness, and affirms this through the values presented in her conduct, however the emphasis on the delicacy of feminine health, and the sisterly affection demonstrated by unmarried controlled women emphasises the passionlessness of the controlled woman.

The absence of sex in the construction of the controlled woman is a core aspect of the construction of the correctness of her conduct. On one hand, she meets the expectations of heteronormative feminine attractiveness. But on the other, she is not overtly sexual, her apparel emphasise prettiness, not sexiness, in the contemporary campaigns. In the mid-19th century sources, the dress of the controlled woman emphasises her cleanliness and care, no matter what her socio-economic class. The continuity of emphasis on women’s sexuality in alcohol regulation campaigns is perhaps not surprising, given the efforts of a range of moral regulation projects to shape women’s sexuality (Valverde and Weir, 2006: 80).

7.4.2 Techniques of regulation

In asserting the original contribution to knowledge of this study, I pointed to the historical continuities not just of the themes of alcohol regulation campaigns seeking to impact upon women’s drinking, but also the techniques, or technologies used by the campaign groups, as evidenced by the artefacts they produce.

As discussed in chapter 3, moral regulation projects operate on certain forms of conduct determined to possess some quality of 'wrongness', which requires intervention. As identified by Valverde and Weir (2006: 71), there has been little exploration of how moral regulation projects seek to shape conduct on the micro-level; that is, in this case, to impact on women's alcohol consumption. In the artefacts produced by the alcohol regulation campaigns over the two time periods examined here, the intent of the campaigns is to shape women's drinking practices. This is produced, as demonstrated in chapters five and six, through presenting favourable and unfavourable traits of femininity, in relation to alcohol consumption. The favourable traits are associated with the character of the controlled woman, and the unfavourable feminine traits with the uncontrolled woman. There is no discussion of quantities or types of alcohol associated with one trait over another, rather on the success or failure to self-govern conduct, as a demonstration of character (possessed by the controlled woman) or characterlessness (of the uncontrolled woman).

The technologies of self-regulation are clearly in operation in the source materials examined in this study. The operation of the concepts of shame, and of visibility, are pertinent to the processes of moral regulation of the female audience of these materials. This process of shaming identified through the critical observation of the uncontrolled woman by others is pertinent in the contemporary sources. The relationship of regret and shame are strongly associated with the uncontrolled woman, that the actions of the uncontrolled woman will be experienced with shame and regret in hindsight. Therefore, shame operates as a technology of self regulation as the audience identifies that character will prevent them from becoming intoxicated and consequently experiencing shame associated with behaviours consequent with a loss of control.

The technique of visibility as a technology of self-regulation in the sources is one aspect of the operation of shame, as identified in the discussion above. The presence of the uncontrolled woman in public spaces emphasises that her intoxication is visible to other participants in the Night Time Economy. The female audience of these materials is faced with uncontrolled women in highly visible, public spaces, which is undesirable as their characterlessness is witnessed by others.

Visibility of the uncontrolled woman is used as a technology of self-regulation, as the female audience is presented with narratives in which the sight of the uncontrolled woman is abhorrent to the others present in the narratives. It is the character of the controlled woman which leads her to recognise that her character and reputation are visible when in public spaces, thus necessitating careful management of the self to ensure that normative feminine character is presented, especially in the contemporary period, when normative feminine drinking practices lead women to participate in the Night Time Economy, whilst carefully moderating their drinking practices.

7.5 Is this an example of a moral regulation project?

In this study, I have approached the topic of women's drinking as a social problem from a theoretical standpoint that moral regulation theory can aid understanding of why the discourses on this social problem have persisted. Perhaps one of the most challenging critiques of moral regulation theory is that it is such a diffuse concept, that any regulatory process could be determined to be a moral regulation project. Yet there are commonalities in the approaches and applications of moral regulation theory. To answer my fourth research question, I will summarise what I think are some of the key features of moral regulation, as identified in chapter three, and consider the extent to which these features are present in the alcohol regulation campaigns I have examined in this study.

7.5.1 The operation of projects

Corrigan and Sayer's (1985) study of moral regulation and its role in state formation, explores the formation of specific forms of conduct. They argue that this process legitimates laws and policies, thus enabling the state to utilise power in governing a population. Following on from this position, the exploration of moral regulation shifted towards more diffuse projects, originating outside the state.

Ruonavaara (1997) and Hunt (1999) both explore moral regulation projects that originate outside the state, and examine how they operate in shaping conduct. Whilst Ruonavaara emphasises the role of discourses to educate and persuade, as the chief

form of regulatory intervention (p.277), Hunt attends to relational aspects, emphasising how the resources of the governing and the governed influence the success of impacting on the conduct of the governed (p.8).

Considering the alcohol regulation campaigns, the producers of the materials I have examined in this study, as organisations acting with the intention to impact on drinking practices, I can think about how they operated, and how this relates to these factors identified by Ruonavaara and Hunt. The mid-19th century Temperance campaign groups, particularly those stemming from the Teetotal Temperance activists, did emerge outside of, and in opposition to, the state. The early moderationist Temperance organisations demonstrated close links with the state, such as in the Church of England Temperance movement (Harrison, 1994). By the time Joseph Livesey and the Preston Teetotallers shaped Temperance through their radical activism, the Temperance organisations were operating separately from the state, and were intervening in communities in ways that were radical to the entrenched norms and values of the state (Harrison, 1994: 111; Shiman, 1988: 30).

In the contemporary campaigns, it is harder to assert the distinction of the campaign groups from the state. Certainly Drinkaware is a charity, one funded by the largest drinks industry companies, however its formation was at the behest of the state, as one of the methods implemented as a consequence of the AHRSE (2004). As Critcher (2011; 187) asserts, moral regulation is essential to the operation of preferred drinking cultures during neo-liberal economic deregulation of the drinks industry.

This draws me to conclude that whilst these campaigns examined here have not consistently operated with a distinctive sense of ‘separateness’ from the state, they have consistently utilised the methods of education and persuasion to shape drinking practices.

Hunt’s (1999: 8) approach explores the relational aspects of moral regulation projects. His historical overview of different moral regulation projects, in which the aims and actions of project are consistent over time, but with shifting projects for regulation, supports this comparison of different projects, identifying why some had a greater social impact than others. It is quite hard to apply this to the contemporary alcohol

regulation campaign groups, as there are evaluations of impacts of specific campaigns available, it is very difficult to assert the extent of the impact on the target population overall. Certainly, the decline in drinking rates among millennials has been argued to be caused by economic uncertainty, cultures of health and fitness, and forums for interactions with friends and potential partners moving online (Analysis: The young new fogeys, BBC Radio 4, 19/06/2016 21.30). Asserting a role of alcohol regulation campaigns in shaping the conduct of young drinkers is difficult. The extent to which the discourses produced in campaign materials shape the conduct of the target population (young women, in this case) cannot be established in this study. Therefore, it is not possible to assert that these contemporary campaigns demonstrate this factor of a moral regulation project.

Critcher (2011) presented a checklist of factors which a moral regulation project demonstrates. This enables a clear comparison with the campaigns examined in this study. There five factors are:

- Identifiable agents
- A specific target
- Distinctive strategies
- A common discourse
- A struggle against competing interests

(Critcher, 2011: 183).

Critcher's view that moral regulation projects require identifiable agents and a specific target is evident in the alcohol regulation campaigns in each period. The agents are the activists of the mid-19th century Temperance campaigns, and the drinking populations in their regions. The agents identifiable in the contemporary period are the organisations who run the various alcohol regulation campaigns. They are a mixture of charitable organisations and local authority boards or panels. Both sets of these agents in the alcohol regulation campaigns have a specific target in their activities. Whilst it is women's drinking which is positioned as the socially problematic behaviour in need of regulatory intervention, there is a distinctive change between the time periods, as discussed in section 7.4. The extent of the specificity of the targets therefore does vary across the two time periods, however there is enough

distinctiveness in women drinkers as a category to consider that the campaigns have a specific target.

In this study, it became evident that distinctive strategies are used by the campaign groups. They produced materials with the purpose of shaping women's drinking practices. To achieve this, discourses of ideal and transgressions of normative femininity show the viewer which forms of conduct are normative. In considering if there is a common discourse present in the alcohol regulation campaigns, the construction of a normative feminine drinking practice, affirmed through the tropes of the controlled and the uncontrolled woman, demonstrates a discourse shared across the campaigns of two time periods. The extent to which this discourse is common beyond the sources produced by the campaigns, is evidenced by the research conducted on gender performativity and drinking, such as de Visser and McDonnell (2012).

The factor of the struggle against competing interests is the only factor which is not clearly presented by the alcohol regulation campaigns examined in this study. In both periods, there are competing interests against the narratives of feminine drinking practice, which is carefully controlled by the individual, in the form of the drinks industry. Indeed, the Temperance campaigns had vocal critics (Longmate, 1968) but there is no discourse of criticism against alcohol regulation campaigns in the contemporary era. The contemporary campaigns have been criticised for their messages about rape and sexual assault as a consequence of women drinking, as discussed in section 5.4.2, but there is no narrative against the discourses advocating controlled drinking for women.

That the alcohol regulation campaigns examined in this study have demonstrated four out of five factors of a moral regulation campaign, as defined by Critcher, raises the possibility that this is not an example of a moral regulation campaign. Whilst this classification system is useful for examining a broad social phenomena, it is perhaps less useful when examining the fine detail of the materials produced by campaign groups.

In the exploration of the materials I have conducted in this study, I have found two compelling factors which demonstrate that this is a moral regulation project. These are, the concept of ‘wrongness’ of conduct, and the identified techniques used in the discourses to shape the conduct of the individual. I consider that these two factors are significant enough to consider that the alcohol regulation campaign materials I have examined in this study are evidence of moral regulation projects.

7.5.2 The concept of wrongness

The one factor which pervades through all formations of moral regulation theory is that there are preferred forms of conduct, which projects aim to reproduce in the norms, values and practices of their target population. Preferred forms of behaviour, by necessity, have contrasting forms of behaviour, which need to be changed to the preferred forms. The sense that some behaviours are inscribed with a sense of wrongness in their conduct, is asserted by Yeomans (2014: 20) and is the most significant common factor in the materials examined in this study. The use of the tropes of the controlled and the uncontrolled woman in the sources serve to affirm the preferred form of behaviour of the time period, and to describe in detail what behaviours are the wrong forms of conduct for that target audience. It is the clarity in which specific practices and behaviours are presented as wrong that defines these alcohol regulation campaigns as moral regulation projects. In presenting the wrongness of forms of conduct, the discourses within the materials affirm moral evaluation of certain drinking practices for women.

This aspect of the findings affirms a core factor of moral regulation projects. However, in examining the techniques used in the campaign materials, I have identified a set of processes which operate to shape women’s drinking practices. In existing moral regulation theory, only Dean (1994) attempted to look at self-formation in moral regulation projects. In section 3.3.3, I presented some critical points on why I felt Dean’s assertion that the term ‘ethics’ was a better application to the processes of self formation (p.155) did not help to explain self formation and self regulation in moral regulation projects. Next, I will describe the factors of self-formation in a moral regulation project I have identified in this study.

7.5.3 Formation of the self in moral regulation projects

In section 7.3.1, I discussed the technique of self-regulation identified in this study. Through examining alcohol regulation campaign materials, to find out what are the social problems caused by drinking women, what practices are considered wrong, necessitating intervention, and how these campaigns seek to shape women's drinking practices, I discovered discursive constructions of femininity, presented in two distinctive tropes.

These two tropes play a pivotal role in conveying the details of the preferred forms of conduct, and the wrong conduct, which should be prevented through following the normative feminine drinking behaviour set out in the trope of the controlled woman.

The question of how these discourses seek to shape feminine conduct is through the assumption of feminine character. By assuming that women engaging with the materials produced by the alcohol regulation campaign possess feminine character, the author of the material reproduces discourses which they identify will be recognisable to the female audience, and that the character of the woman will lead her to recognise the preferred form of conduct, and the undesirable behaviours. It is the assumed feminine character which then responds to the discourses, recognising and reproducing the normative feminine drinking practices affirmed by the narratives in the materials.

The assumption of character as a factor of shaping individual conduct in a moral regulation project emerged as a result of the historical comparative analysis. The term character is not present in the contemporary sources, however through the analysis of the data, it became apparent that the facets of the controlled woman relating to 'good character' in the mid-19th century sources were reproduced in the contemporary sources, without them being labelled as facets of 'good character'. Therefore, undertaking this study as a historical comparative analysis has provided the evidence base to make an assertion of how moral regulation projects seek to shape individual conduct.

7.6 *Statement of the findings*

In this study, two overarching points have emerged as very important to explaining the features and processes of shaping women's drinking practices. The first concerns the distinctive technique found in both periods of alcohol regulation campaigns, that character is the focus of discourses as the method for shaping women's drinking conduct. The second is how this study addresses a gap in identifying the processes of self formation in moral regulation theory, through the concept of soft regulation.

7.6.1 *A distinctive technique: character and formation of the self*

The narratives contained in all the sources I collected and examined in this study told me considerable detail about two different tropes of woman – the woman who controlled herself, never became intoxicated, had a clean home, clean and tidy clothes, was normatively attractive, and was happy. The other woman was out of control, she suffered negative consequences because of drinking alcohol, such as the violence and sexual aggression others perpetrated against her, the loss of her reputation, the loss of objects such as furniture and apparel. The risk of disorder associated with female drinking links to debates about the regulation of leisure and pleasure, particularly when the activities associated with it are problematised. 19th century gender ideologies shaped by the separate spheres thesis have continued to inform how women's drinking is understood as a social problem in the contemporary period. Concerns about women's conduct in the home, in the family, and in leisure time, prompt a response from moral agents to attempt to reform their drinking conduct. The aims of that drinking conduct are broadly set out as controlled, caregiving and acting as the moral governor of the self and others.

The focus on female respectability is a concept that links into debates about postfeminist theory (McRobbie, 2009). The contemporary reassertion of conservative gender values within a discourse of apparent female liberation in contemporary media is reflected in the ways the female drinker in the contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns is constructed. The controlled woman is occupying the same spaces, and participating in the same activities, as the uncontrolled woman. However, she is

demonstrating her good character through remaining controlled, poised and heteronormatively attractive.

Character is the key concept to understanding how these alcohol regulation campaigns attempt to shape feminine drinking conduct. It simultaneously explains how these moralising discourses seek to shape conduct by prompting a response from the assumed inner trait of character of the female viewer, whilst reminding them of the external evaluation of their character, through their drinking conduct.

7.6.2 Addressing a gap in moral regulation theory on the formation of the moral self.

Moral regulation theory has been utilised to explain the processes by which certain forms of conduct are problematised, and regulated through semi-formal mechanisms. In this study, I examined materials produced by campaigns, which I argued in section 7.5.1 are examples of moral regulation projects. By examining the discourses of the materials produced by the campaigns, I sought to find out how they aimed to shape women's drinking conduct. The technique of self-formation used by these campaigns is to direct attention to the concept of character.

In the discussion of moral regulation theory, I identified that existing attempts to understand the processes of self formation had resulted in a rejection of the term 'moral', which created a false dichotomy between the external moral regulation processes, and the internal acts of self-governance. In situating this set of practices within the wider theoretical framework of moral regulation, the idea of 'soft regulation' lends itself to explaining how non-corporeal, yet powerful, techniques are utilised to shape women's drinking conduct. Soft regulations are part of the broader range of harder, formalised and semi-formal modes of regulating women's drinking conduct, such as the prison, the asylum and the hospital. They are the regulatory mode that many women who drink alcohol, especially in leisure settings such as the NTE, experience regulatory discourses of gender ideology and drinking conduct.

7.7 *Summary*

This chapter has explored what the findings can tell us about the research questions concerning how women's drinking conduct is understood as a social problem, to understand how alcohol regulation campaigns try to achieve this, if historical analysis can help to explain why certain discourses are present in the contemporary materials, and to consider if these materials represent a moral regulation campaign. In this discussion, concepts such as disorder, in relation to feminine respectability, and women's experience of leisure/pleasure as gendered, have highlighted some historical continuities in the techniques used to shape women's drinking conduct.

The focus on character, and how the alcohol regulation campaigns examined link to wider theoretical debates about the historical development in techniques to regulate conduct, to theories of gendered leisure, and to postfeminist theory, will be examined in greater detail in the concluding chapter. Further consideration of the concept of 'soft regulation' will also be presented.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 *Introduction*

This chapter will explore how the concept of character in the regulatory techniques of a moral regulation project relate to broader theoretical debates on the historical development of governance and regulation. Through engaging with Cox's (2003) theories on the historical development of disciplinary tactics used on girls identified as necessitating reform, and Rose's (1999) theories on the historical development of modes of governance, the historical changes between the two periods studied are re-examined. By exploring the findings in relation to these theoretical perspectives, it is possible to situate the place of alcohol regulation campaigns in the wider historical story of the tactics of governance of women whose conduct was constructed as necessitating regulation. Furthermore, the tensions between the Victorian middle class gender ideologies and apparent gender equalities present in the contemporary alcohol regulation campaign materials are reassessed, by engaging with McRobbie's (2009) Postfeminist theory of gender in contemporary British culture. The findings will also be assessed in relation to theories of gendered leisure (Clarke and Critcher, 1985; Attwood, 2010; Blackman, 2010; Critcher, 2010).

Finally, this chapter will assess the place of the findings in bringing new insights to moral regulation theory, through the concept of soft regulation. Soft regulation is a useful term for positioning the techniques used by alcohol regulation campaigns to shape drinking conduct, that do not rely upon harder disciplinary devices which wield greater corporeal power over the drinker.

Following on from a review of the literature on women's drinking in the United Kingdom, including studies on contemporary women's drinking and women's drinking in the mid-19th century, and through engaging with moral regulation theory, four research questions were developed. These questions set out to establish how women's drinking is considered to be a social problem, examine the nuances of the 'wrongness' of conduct of the drinking woman in two distinct time periods, and to gain new insights into the techniques used to shape women's drinking practices.

In this final chapter, I will explore the new insights and contributions to the body of knowledge on women and alcohol generated in this study. I will also present the gaps in the subject matter which could not be addressed in this study, indicating some of the future directions of research which I wish to pursue.

8.2 *Main themes of the thesis*

The first discovery made when undertaking the analysis of the data was the consistence of presentation of women within one of two tropes. The women presented in the temperance tracts could go from being a drinker to becoming sober, but their drinking selves and their abstinent selves operated as diametrically opposite, with entirely different narratives conveying the ideal or wrongness of their conduct. The clarity with which the two tropes are discursively constructed informs us that these alcohol regulation campaigns have as clear a narrative on the wrongness of specific forms of conduct. The nuances of the feminine conduct changes, but the technique of focusing on feminine character as the site of reform (Zedner, 1994: 238) is used in both time periods examined here. This finding contributes a new insight into moral regulation theory, which explains how conduct is regulation, how projects emerge, develop and end, and identifies how the history of governing conduct shapes contemporary moral regulation campaigns. This project has shown that not only are the discourses of shaping women's drinking conduct informed by historical discourses, so are the techniques for shaping conduct.

Many tracts featured multiple women within the stories, who would fit neatly into one of the two tropes. These stories positioned the narratives of the two different categories of women alongside each other, so that direct comparisons of the narratives around each could be made. This is an example of the process which Hunt refers to as 'dividing practices' (1999; 8), casting individuals into distinctive groups in order to justify differentiation in access to services, giving the example of the deserving and the undeserving poor. This example, the controlled and uncontrolled woman, fits with this notion of dividing practices, in that it is used to moralise specific forms of behaviour. However, the assertion that dividing practices are used to justify differential treatment is not evident in these sources. The purpose of the comparison is to affirm to the viewer the inferiority of outcome for the woman whose drinking

practices are presented as wrong. The outcomes are often associated with loss, particularly of respectability. However, the beliefs of the Temperance advocates were such that the uncontrolled woman is not denied services, but is pitied, with demonstrations of sorrow at her decline.

8.2.1 *The uncontrolled woman*

The uncontrolled woman is presented in each time period through the demonstration of her loss or lack of control. The prevalence of dirt throughout the narratives of the uncontrolled woman is overwhelming. Dirt on the body, apparel, and most commonly, dirty, public locations such as the gutter prevail throughout the narratives. The presence of uncontrolled women in gutters in sources from both time periods is particularly significant, in that the gutter is the location where dirt and litter collect in outdoor public spaces. By locating uncontrolled women in the gutter, the materials seek to affirm the wrongness of conduct through linking the uncontrolled female body to the dirt and litter of the street; things that are unwanted, polluting and needing removal through cleaning to restore order and purity.

This theme of dirt links to the body of literature on the problematisation of youth leisure (Blackman, 2011). The uncontrolled woman is presented in public spaces in which dirt features heavily. Blackman points out that dirt is inevitable in public spaces, thus leisure which is practiced by groups in public spaces is constructed as deviant:

“Public spaces are far from clean and the dirt and squalor are then associated with the young people who occupy such sites. With little alternative to the streets, park or corner for consumption of alcohol or drugs, engagement in courtship rituals or physical acts of bravado, young people are presented as being different from others because their private leisure practice is performed in public places.” (p. 102).

The construction of the uncontrolled woman is strongly associated with dirt because of her likelihood to be participating in drinking as a leisure practice in public. Gendered theories of leisure have pointed out how culture has played a role in the perpetuation of gender inequality (Clarke and Critcher, 1985) and that gender is constructed, reproduced and performed through leisure. Drinking is an arena for the

construction, reproduction and performance of gender, and it is consequently a site for reformation of conduct. The construction of leisure as a site of disorder (Critcher, 2011) means that when women enter into it, they are recognised as at risk, from the danger of disorder (Blackman, 2011: 108). Thus dirt is prevalent theme throughout the sources not only because of how it indicates the wrongness of conduct of women's drinking; it also draws out themes of disorder of women participating in leisure practices in public spaces. Drinking in public spaces (which are inherently spaces of dirt) provokes a necessity to regulate women's drinking in these spaces because they are spaces of disorder. This explains why very little of the material presents women in domestic settings in the contemporary literature.

A second theme in the presentation of the uncontrolled woman is loss. It was noted that in the temperance tracts, loss of household objects such as furniture, or clothing, was prevalent in the narratives of the uncontrolled woman whereas the loss of clothing in the contemporary sources was torn or disarranged clothing, which has a stronger relationship to loss of control of sexual respectability. Loss of respectability was a unifying theme across both sets of alcohol regulation, with distinctions made about the loss of respectability according to the social class of the uncontrolled woman in the mid-Victorian sources.

The role of unrestrained sexuality in the narratives of the uncontrolled woman is one that varied considerably across the two time periods. In the mid –Victorian sources, only one source contained a direct reference to the sexual transgression of an uncontrolled woman, when a man relates that his wife, who absconded, has been seen living in a low brothel. The main focus on the unrestrained sexuality of the uncontrolled woman in the temperance tracts is within the confines of marriage, and is presented through her failure to meet the expectations of a good wife. Bad wives fail to perform the role ascribed within middle class gender ideology, of the passive, delicate, passionless woman, who exists exclusively within the private sphere. Their lack or loss of character underpins their failure to meet these expectations of normative femininity, and as such, their failure to be a wife means they have transgressed the primary sexual role of woman.

In the contemporary sources, lack of care or restraint by the uncontrolled woman is presented as leading to increased vulnerability to sex crimes, and engaging in sex which they would not have consented to if sober. The focus on the uncontrolled woman's failure to control her drinking thus causes a failure to maintain sexual restraint. Female sexuality is thus presented as risky, and vulnerable. The uncontrolled woman plays a role in making her sexuality both risky and vulnerable through her lack of restraint in consuming alcohol.

8.2.2 *The controlled woman*

The controlled woman is in every way diametrically opposite to the uncontrolled woman. In the construction of the controlled woman, her relationship to alcohol is one of disinterestedness. In the mid-19th century sources, the narratives on women who are not abstinent but also clearly not uncontrolled women, are presented as consuming very little alcohol, and only for medicinal purposes. There is a complete absence of pleasure in the act of drinking alcohol for the controlled woman. For the woman who is a reformed drunkard, her awareness of her faulty character causes her to abstain for her own safety, and to espouse abstinence to others, using her life as an example of the risks of drinking.

In the contemporary sources, the controlled woman is presented as drinking alcohol in social settings, but is presented as moderating herself to ensure that her safety, and the care of others, is paramount during the night out. The role of alcohol in the night out is assumed to be an integral aspect, but moderation in its consumption is the norm for the controlled woman. She is not compelled by the drinking environment to compromise her normative feminine drinking practices by becoming intoxicated. The superior character of the controlled woman is asserted through the practices and objects within the narratives on the controlled woman.

The controlled woman appears to be a vessel of Victorian middle class gender ideology, even in the Temperance sources which present a working class controlled woman. The inherent domesticity, care and compassion of the controlled woman in the Temperance tracts crosses the class boundaries which are very evident in the sources. In the contemporary sources, the domesticity of the controlled woman is not

apparent, but the emphasis on self care and the care of others remain evident, in the public spaces of the night time economy.

The values of the controlled woman are presented through the frequency with which acts of charity, or compassion. In the mid-19th century sources, the controlled woman is often presented as choosing to abstain for the sake of others, that it is her duty to prevent harm to others, and setting an example is a central mechanism in her role of acting charitably towards others. In the contemporary sources, the controlled woman demonstrates her charitable character by ensuring that a friend, who is depicted as intoxicated, is held up, physically supported, as she staggers, falls, or trips. Her primary duty is to minimise the harm toward the intoxicated woman at risk.

A second theme which is present in the construction of the controlled woman is that of self-care. The character of the controlled woman in the mid Victorian sources is a product of the middle class gender ideology which constructed women as delicate, fragile, and passionless. Care of the self in the Temperance tracts centres around the construction of feminine health as fragile, particularly the heart and mental health wellbeing. Alcohol is presented as particularly harmful to delicate female health, therefore the controlled woman is presented as seeking to protect herself through her own abstinence, and through ensuring the abstinence of her family and spouse. In the contemporary sources, female health is a less evident theme, however the relationship between femininity, emotional wellbeing and alcohol are asserted through references to women becoming emotional through intoxication.

The final theme prominent in the narratives on the controlled woman is that of moral governance. The controlled woman is constructed as performing a social role in ensuring the moral wellbeing of others in her sphere of influence. In the mid-19th century sources, controlled women are implored to use their influence to exert their moral superiority, persuading others to become abstinent. The value of feminine character is such that the performance of moral governance is a technique by which the controlled woman demonstrates her character to others in her family and community.

In the contemporary sources, there are no direct references to moral governance of others by the controlled woman. However, the controlled woman is demonstrably compelled to remain in control through moderate drinking to ensure that others they are participating in a night out with have fun, through ensuring that nobody becomes excessively intoxicated.

8.3 *Technologies of regulation*

Along with the findings on the tropes of femininity in the alcohol regulation campaign materials from each time period, the historical continuity of the technologies of self governance utilised by campaigns in each time period is a particularly significant finding. Moral regulation theory has focused on the historical legacies of the targets for moral reform through campaigns or projects, for example in the extensive work by Hunt (1999) and on historical formations identifiable in discourses on targets for moral reform. Contemporary studies on women's drinking have pointed to the emphasis on self-regulation in alcohol regulation campaigns (Mackiewicz, 2012) as part of a neo-liberal agenda for alcohol regulation. What has not been uncovered to date, is exactly how the regulatory techniques seek to act upon women's drinking practices, and this thesis has uncovered their historical formations. This has generated a new insight into the ways moral regulation projects operate within a micro setting, to shape individual conduct.

The regulatory techniques associated with micro regulation in a moral regulation project can be conceptualised as a form of 'soft regulation', which was discussed in part 1.6. The concept of soft regulation is useful to frame the idea of discourse-driven techniques to shape drinking conduct, whilst situating these regulatory formations within a wider repertoire of regulatory forms, as Gerritsen (2000) suggests. Hard regulations are highly visible, corporeal and formalised, such as legal sanctions over conduct. They play a role in shaping women's drinking conduct as the 'last resort' of reform and control of conduct over the female drinker, in the form of prison or the asylum. But relatively few drinking women directly encounter these regulatory formations. The majority of drinking women experience regulation of their drinking conduct through discourse. The institution is incorporated into these discourses, as seen in the presence of the prison, the asylum, and the hospital, as places in which

very few of the uncontrolled women are located in the narratives. The term soft regulation sets out the relationship between these formalised, hard regulations, yet clearly differentiates the set of techniques for shaping conduct.

The techniques of soft regulation are performed by discourse. These discourses are presented by semi-formal agents, such as these alcohol regulation campaign groups, and are also reproduced informally within the discourses of women and drink by families and communities. These discursive formations, whilst informal and often unconsciously learned in the shaping of feminine conduct, are powerful. They are powerful enough to result in a set of norms of drinking conduct associated with gender that even when they are resisted, are acknowledged, as the participants in Mackiewicz's (2012) and de Visser and McDonnell (2012) studies on gender and drinking culture demonstrated. This study has sought to understand how one specific regulatory formation has sought to shape women's drinking conduct, identifying it as a practice of soft regulation, linked to but different from highly formalised forms of hard regulation. It sought to understand how, through soft regulation, these regulation campaign groups tried to shape women's drinking conduct, and to know what technologies are used.

In this study, it became evident that distinctive strategies are employed by the alcohol regulation campaign groups. They produced materials with the purpose of shaping women's drinking practices. To achieve this, discourses of ideal and transgressions of normative femininity show the viewer which forms of conduct are normative.

The techniques used to shape women's drinking practices reproduce a middle class gender ideology. This is evident in the forms of behaviour which are presented as transgressive. The transgressions reflect the gender ideology that is at the centre of separate spheres theory. Whilst there is some debate over the realities of Victorian women living in separate spheres, what is evidenced in this study is the extent to which the middle class gender ideology which promulgated the notion of separate spheres had a strong influence in informing the correct forms of conduct for all women. Whilst working class women could not fully emulate the middle class gender ideology, because of their economic activity, moral reformers sought to shape their conduct to reflect the values of feminine respectability.

The regulatory technique utilised in the alcohol regulation campaign materials in both periods centre on the notion of character, a trait which women are assumed to possess. This trait of ‘character’ compels the female viewer to monitor their conduct to demonstrate the norms and values of respectable, normative femininity. The process by which alcohol regulation campaigns seek to shape women’s drinking is therefore based upon an assumption of feminine character. This insight provides a new contribution to understanding practices of micro-regulation in moral regulation theory, which will be discussed in section 8.5.

8.4 *Historical continuities and changes*

The use of an identifiably middle class Victorian gender ideology as a technique to shape women’s drinking practices is demonstrated to be historically enduring in this study. Moral regulation theory framed this study into women’s drinking, to understand how women’s drinking was constructed as a social problem. As Ruonavaara’s (1997; 277) social action approach to moral regulation theory indicated, it is often an approach for a type of “historical sociology” – that is, trying to understand episodes in which one form of conduct or another is constructed as a problem, with the resolution of state or non-state actors to seek to reform or regulate conduct of the participants they identify as the chief perpetrators of the social problem. By undertaking a comparative study of attempts to shape women’s drinking conduct in two time periods, the opportunity to understand how moral regulation theory can be applied to the micro- context of shaping conduct is presented.

In considering how the social problem of women’s drinking conduct has been constructed over a lengthy historical timeframe, the changes in how the ‘problem’ is framed are evident, such as the change in focus from a broad age range of women in the mid-19th century projects, to a narrow range of young adults presented in the contemporary materials; or the shift in setting women’s uncontrolled drinking in domestic settings as well as public spaces in the mid-19th century, to the dominance of the public space as the setting for transgressive feminine drinking practices in the contemporary projects. Cox (2003) encountered similar debates in understanding how ‘bad girls’ were framed and regulated by different institutions over the 19th and 20th century. She argues, “regulatory and disciplinary discourses have a dynamic and

continual history that is never adequately framed within neat periodisations or neat transitional models that track shifts from the punitive to the progressive, from punishment to welfare.” (p.167).

There are no ‘neat transitions’ witnessed across the time periods examined in this study, as the chapters on the uncontrolled woman and the controlled woman present. The social problem of women drinking alcohol is tied up with ideas of domesticity, care, public/private roles, sex and relationships, in ways that sometimes feel very familiar across the two time periods, such as in the common feature of the lost shoe. This study directs attention at feminine character as the site of reform in the discourses presented in both time periods. These findings have shown that these moral regulation projects do not emerge in a vacuum, but re-emerge when social conditions shaping women’s drinking change, such as in the dramatic shifts in the drinking landscape identified as precursors to the periods of advancing interest in women’s drinking examined in this study. These tropes of femininity, the controlled and the uncontrolled woman, are historically enduring, yet also specific to the time period in which they are constructed. This final point reflects Cox’s explanation for how she accounted for her history of bad girls:

“To stress the importance of continuums and continuities here is not to suggest...that once modern forms of monitoring, regulation and surveillance were put in place they exercised an enduring and unchanging power. Instead, it is to argue that historians of governmentality in all its forms must be alert to the ways in which disciplinary tactics change over time,” (p168).

The techniques used in the contemporary alcohol regulation projects draw upon themes of transgressive women which appear in the 19th century temperance tracts, but place women who drink in considerably more public, seemingly less restrictive, physical landscapes. However, the discourses of transgressive and normative drinking conduct remain powerful in this setting, reinforcing Victorian values of femininity such as caregiving, cleanliness and physical orderliness.

It is the historical specificities of gender ideology, and beliefs about alcohol which have created the differences between the alcohol regulation campaign materials in each period. In the mid 19th century, the teetotal temperance movements emerging from the 1830s were closely intertwined with nonconformist Christian churches. The role of God, faith and the church is pivotal to the majority of the narratives of the

controlled woman. Whilst some historians have argued that secularisation was a growing force throughout the 19th century (see Chapter Two) the teetotal Temperance movements were inextricably linked to non-conformist Christianity. During the profound social changes brought about by industrialisation, Christian-based constructs of respectability remained important. They had a powerful influence in shaping ideas about feminine respectability and character. This is particularly evident in the tracts which use the direct address format, in which the assumed controlled woman reader is implored to act upon her Christian duty to use her influence in the cause of saving themselves and others through pledging abstinence.

In the contemporary sources, the place of faith has disappeared entirely. Some of the themes of charity and moral governance, shaped by mid Victorian Christian ideals, are still present, however the constructions of respectability are not generated through a lens of Christian faith, but through the preservation of sexual respectability and character. It is the public visibility, extended not just to the night time economy venues where intoxication takes place, but also to online performance of the night out (Brown and Gregg, 2012) which is emphasised in the construction of women's transgressive femininity whilst intoxicated. The contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns seek to emphasise the shaming which is a consequence of the visibility of intoxication. Controlled women are compelled by their good feminine character to carefully monitor their alcohol consumption, not only to protect their risky sexuality, but to maintain their public, visible respectability.

8.4.1 Changes in tactics of regulation

In the materials produced in each time period, I argue that there are thematic and technological continuities evident, from the dichotomy of the controlled/uncontrolled woman, to the focus on character as the site of reform, and simultaneously drawing attention to the external moral evaluation of conduct. Nevertheless, there are clear differences in the materials produced in the two time periods. The shifts can be seen in the locations in which the narratives are set, from predominantly domestic in the mid-19th century, to, with just one exception in the contemporary materials, to the public space as setting for the controlled and uncontrolled woman. Another point worthy of note is the shift from a wide age range of women in the mid-19th century

sources, from the 60 year old woman in ‘Is I not happy? An interesting account of a very poor old woman; (Ipswich Temperance Tracts, 1846) to many drinking mothers, whose ages are unclear, but are clearly old enough to be married with young children, likely putting them between their teens and 50s. The age range of women presented in the contemporary sources is significantly narrower. No indications of marital status or being a parent are included in the discourse. The narratives draw upon a narrow range of slender youthful white women to focus the construction of the controlled/uncontrolled upon. These young women are all depicted as relatively affluent, as they are all participants in a NTE which necessitates having spending power to purchase appropriate clothing, pay for access to bars and clubs, and for drinks. In the mid-19th century materials, the majority of the women presented are poorer. Their poverty is reinforced by their lack of shoes or respectable apparel (for example, in ‘Saturday night’ (Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance, no. 79: 1850) the women of the family are unable to attend church because their shawls and shoes are in the pawnbrokers) and by their lack of furniture.

These changes in the two time periods can, to some extent, be explained by the social-cultural context of the period in which the materials were created. However, considering Rose’s (1999) theories on tactics of regulation, further insight into the historical development of modes of governance can be drawn. The development of systems of governance of the self, Rose argues, are identifiable from the start of the 19th century in Britain, that “it is possible to trace a series running from the ‘thin’ moral subject of habits...to the individuated normal subject of constitution, character and condition in the later part of the century,” (pp.45 – 46). The governance of the self emerged and developed through the 19th century, through “the invention of a whole variety of ‘moral technologies’ designed to shape the character and conscience of those who were to be moral subjects and hence mould their conduct – pauper schools, reformatory prisons, lunatic asylums, public baths and washhouses. The great ‘machines of morality’ invented in the nineteenth century took the characteristic form of enclosed sites for the manufacture of character. (p.103).

In the materials produced in the mid-19th century, the presence of such machines of morality, the prison and the asylum, act as the preliminary act before death of the uncontrolled woman, as discussed in section 5.3.4. The purpose of these machines of morality, in the materials examined here, is less often the site of moral redemption than the precursor to death. Bridget Larkins (Ipswich temperance tracts, no. 89: 1846)

is imprisoned frequently for drunken misdemeanours, but she is not reformed there. Her moral reform is initiated through signing the pledge of total abstinence. It is in these sources we can see a shift away from governance through the machines of morality in the form of clearly identifiable institutions, to the ‘new arts of government’ (p.106) enacted by organisations at a distance from the state. Rose characterises the alignment of state interests – that is, governing conduct, whilst pursuing liberal non-interventionist strategies (p.49) – with the agencies for shaping and governing conduct as ‘translation’. He explains,

“In the dynamics of translation, alignments are forged between the objectives of authorities wishing to govern and the personal projects of those organisations, groups, and individuals who are the subjects of government. It is through translation processes of various sorts that linkages are assembled between political agencies, public bodies, economic, legal, medical, social and technical authorities, and the aspirations, judgements and ambitions of formally autonomous entities, be these firms, factories, pressure groups, families and individuals.” (p48).

Translation processes are integral to achieving “government at a distance” (p.49), however in the mid-19th century, the temperance advocates who organised and produced the ephemera, such as is analysed in this study, were operating as radicals, in opposition to the dominant norms and values of alcohol regulation in government discourses of the time (see Harrison, 1994). It is difficult to see how the relationship can be described as ‘translational’ in this period, however the project pursued by the temperance campaigners, to shape drinking conduct to promote self-regulation, resulting in social control without institutional management of conduct. Rose’s view, that “Rule at a distance becomes possible when each can translate the values of others into its own terms, such that they provide norms and standards for their own ambitions, judgements and conduct.” (p.50). Whilst the teetotal temperance campaigners were in conflict with the dominant political view on alcohol regulation, their actions served the broader liberal agenda of governance through their actions to shape drinking conduct through promotion of self-regulation.

In the contemporary period, the translational relationship between government and actors at a distance from the state is much clearer in the materials produced by contemporary alcohol regulation campaign groups. The creation of the largest charitable organisation in alcohol regulation campaigning was initiated by the government as part of their 2004 AHRSE strategy. The materials produced in the

contemporary time period are much more homogenous than those in the mid-19th century period. Their aims, to promote self-regulated, controlled alcohol consumption, reproduces the aim of the central government policy on alcohol regulation.

However, the alcohol regulation campaign materials examined in this comparative historical study on the regulation of women's drinking have contributed insights not only into the changes in tactics of regulation, but also the continuity of Victorian values in the gender ideologies presented to shape women's drinking conduct. The location of the narratives in each period is one of the identified changes between time periods, however the movement of the controlled/uncontrolled woman from the domestic to the public space, as a symbol of the greater capacity for freedom in female respectability, is in tension with the gender ideologies utilised in these campaign materials.

8.4.2 Postfeminism in contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns

The apparent shift in 'freedom' for women in the contemporary period, to go out to drinking venues at night time, and retain the capacity to maintain a respectable character is identifiably a significant cultural change from the mid-19th century, as the sources depict all women's drinking as transgressive, but that which takes place in public drinking venues as especially so, such as is seen with the publican's wife in 'Take a Public House' (Ipswich Temperance Tracts, No. 43: 1846). In the contemporary alcohol regulation campaign materials, a presentation of gender equality is utilised, because women (when they are controlled women, who self-regulate their alcohol consumption carefully to maintain their normative femininity) are participating on equal terms with male drinkers, because they are welcome participants in the NTE venues. However, at play within these materials are discourses which assert feminine values such as care, that the controlled, normatively feminine drinking woman monitors her drinking so she can perform caring roles to others who become intoxicated. McRobbie (2009) refers to this as 'double entanglement' – when gender traditionalist values are presented alongside more apparently liberal values relating to choice and freedom. In her work on postfeminism in popular culture, McRobbie argues,

“The various political issues associated with feminism are understood to be now widely recognised and responded to (they have become feminist common sense) with the effect that there is no longer any place for feminism in contemporary political culture. But this disavowal permits the subtle renewal of gender injustices, while vengeful patriarchal norms are also re-instated.” (p. 55).

The participation of young women in drinking in public in the NTE goes unquestioned in the materials produced by the alcohol regulation campaigns. They do not seek to shape drinking conduct by focusing on domestic duties, as was the case in the mid-19th century. However, this has not meant that young women participating in this activity are liberated from their conduct being shaped by some of the Victorian values on normative femininity. Patriarchal norms in the shape of discourses of shame for the uncontrolled woman, particularly around sex, sexual assault and rape, are clearly visible in the sources analysed in this study, as presented in section 5.4.2.

8.5 *Revisiting moral regulation theory*

The themes and regulatory techniques explored in this study form a new contribution to understanding how moral regulation projects operate at the micro level. By examining the alcohol regulation project materials as artefacts containing discourses utilised to govern women’s drinking practices, this study has drawn attention to the ways in which women’s drinking has been subject to moral regulation in different historical periods.

The technique utilised by the campaigns to shape women’s drinking conduct is through a focus on the concept of character. By seeking to shape conduct through discourses, these regulation campaign materials are contributing to a wider repertoire of disciplinary techniques for shaping drinking conduct, regulating women’s conduct, and regulating pleasure within the domain of leisure that is the contemporary NTE. These regulatory formations are not highly formal, as many studies on moral regulation projects have aspired to produce new laws to resolve the perceived social problems associated with drinking. Instead, this type of moral regulation campaign seeks to reform conduct through discourse. The contents of the discourses change and develop over the two time periods examined, but continuity in the technique of character as the focal point of the discursive constructions draws attention to the persistence of soft regulation as a technique in moral regulation projects.

8.6 *The original contribution to knowledge of this study*

I conclude that the primary focus on women's drinking is one of social disorder. By undertaking a historical comparative analysis, this study has generated an original insight into how Victorian values continue to shape contemporary attempts to regulate drinking practices. Whilst there has been an apparent liberalisations in the ways women participate in work, home and leisure, their presence in scenes of disorder, as participants in drinking conduct, has prompted action to shape their drinking conduct. This is achieved primarily through soft regulation, a discourse driven form of regulatory technique. The techniques of shaping drinking conduct concentrates discourses on character. This demonstrates that in the contemporary period, attempts to shape drinking conduct are a re-emergence of mid 19th century tactics for shaping female conduct. This argument connects with postfeminist analysis (McRobbie, 2009) highlighting the tensions between the apparent gender equalities of participation in the NTE, and the gender ideologies presented in these alcohol campaign materials. The tactics of regulation we see in these campaigns have shown some changes, however these tactics have been through relatively insignificant changes, especially when compared to the formalised methods of regulating 'problem' women, as highlighted by Cox (2003). It is perhaps because of the implementation of soft regulation by these alcohol regulation campaign groups that the tactics of regulation have been through fewer changes.

This study has explored women's drinking conduct as a social problem which has prompted attempts to shape normative feminine drinking conduct, particularly through organisations operating at a distance from the state. This focus has drawn attention to the methods of shaping the gendered conduct of leisure practices. As discussed in section 7.2.1, leisure is a space in which gender is constructed, reproduced and performed. It is also a site within which gender is regulated, and leisure practice in which women are highly visible participants is likely to result in an imperative to reform conduct. This is because these leisure activities are often located in public spaces, with inherent associations of dirt and disorder (Blackman, 2011). The problem of disorder caused by women's drinking perpetuates gender ideologies of women as inherently vulnerable, thus their conduct requires reform and monitoring

to reduce the risk of harm to self and society. Blackman (2011) in his work on youth leisure, argues that it “should be theorised from an alternative position, which interprets young people’s cultural activities of intoxication as a sign of agency and solidarity.” (p113). In the body of literature on women’s drinking, similar dismissals of agency of the female drinker are identified, such as Mackiewicz (2012). New theories of women’s drinking conduct, and new approaches to communicating health information without recourse to Victorian values are needed in the study and action on women’s drinking.

A further original contribution to knowledge of this study is to the development of moral regulation theory by examining the practices of ‘soft regulation’ in shaping women’s drinking conduct. This study has examined this set of practices from an extra-state producer, however soft regulation operates within a wider repertoire of regulatory formations, some highly formalised, some semi-formal such as education programmes in schools. Existing studies of moral regulation have looked at the macro and mezzo formations for shaping and governing conduct. This study has sought to establish how micro processes operate within a moral regulation project. A project which has a clearly defined sense of wrongness of a form of conduct, and seeks to achieve reform. Instead of seeking highly formalised regulatory modes, such as changes in the law, these projects use discourses to act upon the conduct of the audience. Whilst these soft regulations have a lesser corporeal effect on the body than formal or hard regulation such as criminal justice sanctions, they are pervasive, and I would argue, powerful in the way they have capacity to shape conduct for a large population group whose conduct is not subject to criminalisation (as young women are important consumer participants in the NTE) yet their conduct, a potential source of disorder, is constructed as a social problem necessitating regulation.

8.7 *Alternative avenues for researching the topic*

The contours of this project, as established in Chapter four, created a distinctive approach to examining the regulation of women’s drinking, through historical comparative analysis of artefacts produced by alcohol regulation campaigns in two time periods. However, the materials examined here have limited the scope of the findings, in that they are artefacts of attempts to regulate drinking. Therefore, this

study is limited in that I have not investigated how women who drink, or who don't drink, experience regulatory discourses. To generate findings which may be more useful in engaging with women who drink, this study could have pursued qualitative research, based around interviews or focus groups. The extent to which these findings are going to be useful, beyond raising attention to the issue of the content of alcohol regulation campaigns targeting female drinkers, is likely to be limited.

Through the research process, it became apparent that considerable mystery remains around the women who experienced the Temperance movements in the mid-19th century, as the target audience for shaping their drinking practices. Seeking out the perspectives and experiences of the women who were on the receiving end of the Temperance activists would be particularly challenging. If I had undertaken a study solely on Victorian Temperance activities, I may have had the time to pursue investigations into archives on working class women's lives around the UK. Rather than looking at the drinking practices of working class women through the lens of the Temperance reformers, I could have encountered their own words and perspectives, giving a better insight into drinking practices, experiences of the Temperance activists, and opinions about their actions.

8.8 *On knowledge not yet gained, requiring new research*

Along with the alternative approaches to researching the regulation of women's drinking in two historical periods, I gained awareness of gaps in the body of knowledge relating to women's drinking, in both the contemporary period, and in the mid-19th century. These gaps do not all concern the regulation of women's drinking, but would explore otherwise unknown areas on the lives of women in relation to drinking alcohol.

In chapter 7, when discussing the changes in the alcohol regulation campaign materials between the two time periods, I noted how there has been a strong trend towards secularisation in the contemporary alcohol campaign materials. The role of Christian faith in the mid-19th century Temperance materials is to be expected, however the continuity of themes associated with these campaigns suggests a level of influence of Christian values in the discourses of contemporary alcohol regulation campaign groups. It is of interest to learn to what extent faith shapes drinking

practices of young women who are abstinent, as well as those who do drink. Such a study would enhance understanding of how religious ethics and values interact with the formal modes of regulation, and how these are resolved with participating in the culture of intoxication.

The heteronormative femininity of the women presented in the contemporary alcohol regulation campaigns is interesting, because in the discourses constructing the wrongness of the conduct of intoxicated women, their risky sexuality is related solely to heterosexual sex only. Moon and Staddon (2015) examined the existing body of research on lesbian women and alcohol, arguing for the need for services to approach alcohol as a social issue, which necessitates giving assistance with greater awareness of the social factors shaping alcohol use, such as in providing specialist centres (p.153). In seeking to develop better services for LGBTQIA populations, a contribution to improving uptake and access to services through production of materials that are representative, and that do not implement shaming discourses associated with gender, sexuality and alcohol consumption.

Greater understanding of the activities of female temperance activists in the mid-19th century is necessary to fill a significant gap in the knowledge on the temperance movement. These women have remained nearly silent, as the principal studies on temperance, (Harrison, 1994) focused on the formation and actions of the male dominated organisations, paying little to no attention to the female activists who did much of the interpersonal work in the movements. Seeking to study these activists would involve searching for diaries, letters and personal ephemera of women who were involved in various temperance organisations through localised activities. The various temperance biographies and published accounts of women in the movement have focused on prominent leaders (e.g. Black, 2015), not so much on the activities of women who visited drinkers, handed out tracts, and taught at Sunday schools. Such a study would fill a significant gap in understanding how the women inside the movement interacted with drinkers, and how they themselves perceived alcohol in their own lives.

There is also a need to gain further understanding of how the relationship between women, ‘wrongness’ of conduct, and the gutter, as the dirtiest space in the public street. The significance of the theme of dirt in the construction of the uncontrolled

woman in the materials from both time periods has struck me considerably. The presentation of being in public, of the visibility of feminine transgression, means that the intertwining of dirt and public visibility through the location of the gutter carries symbolic meaning, which should be explored in sources beyond temperance publications.

8.9 *Summary*

This chapter has situated the discussion of women, drink and moral regulation within wider debates on leisure theory, postfeminism, governmentality and soft regulation. The findings draw attention to the ways in which women's leisure is a site of gender performance, and of regulation. The presence of women as apparently equal participants in the NTE, in drinking practices which are perceived to break the boundaries of feminine respectability, has prompted the renewal of regulatory action through discourse to shape women's drinking conduct. Situating these discourses within postfeminist theory, we see that the gender ideologies performed by the controlled woman reinforce conservative gender values, as is achieved in many other contemporary media products.

Considering the historical development and continuities of techniques of regulation in these regulation campaigns, we see that in comparison to the dramatic shifts in formalised modes of governance and reform, as highlighted by Cox (2003) and Rose (1999), the tactics of moral regulation projects have been through only subtle changes in the techniques used to shape women's drinking conduct. Soft regulation, a non-corporeal, informal, tactic of discipline, operates as part of a wider repertoire of disciplinary formations, with a clear sense of wrongness of conduct, with a necessity for reform. Soft regulation, in this setting, aims its discursive formations at character; a concept which links both the assumed inner trait with the process of external evaluation of women's drinking conduct.

References

- Alvesson, M., 2002. *Postmodernism and social research*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Analysis: The New Young Fogeys, 2016 (Radio programme) BBC, Radio 4, 19/06/2016 21.30
- Anon., 1869. *A drunkards testimony* : Illustrated Temperance Anecdotes. pp.26-27.
- Anon. 1851. *A sad sight*: The Band of Hope Review and Children's Friend, September (9).
- Anon., 1850. *Charles Simpson* : Scottish Temperance League. (43).
- Anon., 1850. *A highland village* : Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance. (34).
- Anon., 1850. *My wife won't sign, by a wife* : Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance. (52).
- Anon., 1850. *Prize Tracts, No. X. - A word to females* : Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance. (10).
- Anon., 1850. *Prize tracts, No. XL. - The traffic in intoxicating liquors* : Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance. (11).
- Anon., 1850. *Sally Lyon's first and last visit to the alehouse* : Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance. (11).
- Anon., 1850. *Saturday night*: Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance. (79).
- Anon., 1850. *Scenes around us* : Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance. (60).
- Anon., 1850. *The story of a wife's endurance* : Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance. (32).
- Anon., 1850. Strong drink in the house. *Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance*, (39).
- Anon., 1850. *A word to females: Tracts on Temperance* : Scottish Temperance League. (10).
- Anon., 1849. *Is I not happy?* : Ipswich Temperance Tracts. (32).
- Anon., 1849. *John Jarvis, or the Temperance pledge signed* : Ipswich Temperance Tracts. (47).

- Anon., 1849. *The working man: My own affairs* : Ipswich Temperance Tracts. (31).
- Anon., 1846. *Address to females* : Ipswich Temperance Tracts. (131).
- Anon., 1846. *The craving of a drunkard, Illustrated: In an extract of a letter from a friend* : Ipswich Temperance Tracts. (108).
- Anon., 1846. *The drunken couple* : Ipswich Temperance Tracts. (34).
- Anon., 1846. *The fool's pence* : Ipswich Temperance Tracts. (22).
- Anon., 1846. *Ladies' Tract societies: With hints for their formation* : Ipswich Temperance Tracts. (62).
- Anon., 1846. *The Manchester go-a-heads* : Ipswich Temperance Tracts. (148).
- Anon., 1846. *A Manchester home, by a Baptist minister* : Ipswich Temperance Tracts. (189).
- Anon., 1846. *The reformed shoemaker, or: "I will if you will"* : Ipswich Temperance Tracts. (171).
- Anon., 1846. *A scene from life. Ipswich Temperance Tracts*, (154).
- Anon., 1846. *Take a public house* : Ipswich Temperance Tracts. (43).
- Anon., 1846. *The victim of excitement* : Ipswich Temperance Tracts. (78).
- Anon., 1846. *The young woman's tract* : Ipswich Temperance Tracts. (55).
- Attwood, F. 2011. Sex and the Citizens: Erotic Play and the New Leisure Culture in Bramham P. and Wagg, S. (eds) *The New Politics of Leisure and Pleasure*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Bailey, P., 1987. *Leisure and class in Victorian England: Rational recreation and the contest for control, 1830 - 1885*. London: Melhuen.
- Banks, M., 2007. *Using visual data in qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- Barton, A. 2017. *Fragile moralities and dangerous sexualities: Two centuries of semi-penal institutionalization for women*. London: Routledge.
- Barzun, J., 1992. *The modern researcher*. [e-book] 5th. ed. Fort Worth: Fort Worth Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. Available through: Primo.
- Bebbington, D., 2011. *Victorian nonconformity*. [e-book] Cambridge : The Lutterworth Press. Available through: Primo.
- Becker, H.S. 1997. *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York: The Free Press.

- Beckingham, D., 2012. Gender, Space, and Drunkenness: Liverpool's Licensed Premises, 1860–1914. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 103 (3), pp.647-666.
- Bellis, M. and Hughes, K., 2011. Getting drunk safely? Night-life policy in the UK and its public health consequences. *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 30, pp.536 - 545.
- Berger, P.L., 1967. *The social construction of reality: a treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. [e-book] Harmondsworth: Harmondsworth Penguin. Available through: Primo.
- Berridge, Virginia, 2004. Punishment or treatment? Inebriety, drink, and drugs, 1860-2004. *The Lancet*, 364, pp.4 – 5.
- Berridge, V., 2005. *Temperance: Its history and impact on current and future alcohol policy*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Black, R., 2015. *Scandal, Salvation and suffrage. The amazing women of the Temperance Movement*. 1st ed. Leicestershire: Matador.
- Blackman, S., Doherty, L. and McPherson, R., 2015. Normalisation of hedonism? Challenging convergence culture through ethnographic studies of alcohol consumption by young adults - a feminist exploration. Staddon, P., ed. 2015. *Women and Alcohol: Social Perspectives*. 1st ed. Bristol:Policy Press. Chapter: Three, pp.45-64.
- Blackman, S. 2011. Rituals of Intoxication: Young People, Drugs, Risk and Leisure in Bramham P. and Wagg, S. (eds) *The New Politics of Leisure and Pleasure*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Bombaro, C., 2012. *Finding history: Research methods and resources for students and scholars*. Plymouth: Scarecrow press.
- Bonnell, V.E. and Hunt, L., 1999. *Beyond the cultural turn*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bordo, S., 2003. *Unbearable weight: Feminism, western culture and the body*. 2nd ed. London: University of California Press ltd.
- Bottletop and Safer Herefordshire Partnership, 2011. *How will your night end? A trip to hospital?*.
- Bottletop and Safer Herefordshire Partnership, 2011. *How will your night end? Too drunk to remember?*.
- Bottletop and Safer Herefordshire Partnership, 2009. *You wouldn't start a night like this, so why end it that way? Poster 1*.
- Bottletop and Safer Herefordshire Partnership, 2009. *You wouldn't start a night like this, so why end it that way? Poster 2*.

- Bottletop and Safer Herefordshire Partnership, 2009. *You wouldn't start a night like this, so why end it that way? Poster 3.*
- Bramham, P. and Wagg, S. (eds) 2011. *The New Politics of Leisure and Pleasure.* Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Bramham, P. and Wagg, S. 2011. Introduction: Unforbidden Fruit: From Leisure to Pleasure in Bramham P. and Wagg, S. (eds) *The New Politics of Leisure and Pleasure.* Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Brown, R. and Gregg, M., 2012. The pedagogy of regret: Facebook, binge drinking and young women. *Continuum: Journal of media and cultural studies*, 26 (3), pp.357 - 369.
- Brown, S., 1998. 'What's the problem, girls?' CCTV and the gendering of public safety. Norris, C., Moran, J. and Armstrong, G., eds. 1998. *Surveillance, Closed Circuit Television and social control.* Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Brundage, A., 2013. *Going to the sources: A guide to historical research and writing.* 5th ed. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Bryman, A., 2012. *Social research methods.* [e-book] 4th ed.. ed. Oxford: Oxford : Oxford University Press. Available through: Primo.
- Burr, V., 1995. *Social constructionism.* 1st ed. Hove: Routledge.
- Cabinet office, 2003. *Alcohol Harm Reduction Strategy for England.* Prime Ministers strategy Unit.
- Calderdale Council, 2013. *Night of the reckless drunk : Festive season campaign.*
- Camberwell Council on Alcoholism, 1980. *Women and Alcohol.* 1st ed. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Chadwick, O. 1966. *The Victorian Church, Part one: 1829 – 1859.* 3rd ed. London: SCM Press.
- Chatterton, P. and Hollands, R.G., 2003. *Urban nightscapes : youth cultures, pleasure spaces and corporate power.* London: Routledge.
- Clarke, J. and Critcher, C. 1985. *The Devil Makes Work: Leisure in Capitalist Britain.* Basingstoke: MacMillan Education Ltd.
- Clay, W.L., 1861. *The prison chaplain : a memoir of the Rev. John Clay, B.D., late chaplain of the Preston Gaol : with selections from his reports and correspondence and a sketch of prison discipline in England.* 1st ed. Cambridge: MacMillan.

- Collini, S. 2007. Character and the Victorian mind. In McWilliam, R. and Boyd, K., *The Victorian studies reader*. [e-book] London: London : Routledge. Available through: Primo.
- Corrigan, P., and Sayer, D., 1985. *The great arch: English state formation as cultural revolution*. 1st ed. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Corrigan, P., 1981. On moral regulation: Some preliminary remarks. *Sociological Review*, 29 (2), pp.313 - 337.
- Cott, N.F. 1978. Passionlessness: An Interpretation of Victorian Sexual Ideology, 1790-1850. *Signs*, Vol. 4, No. 2 pp. 219-236
- Cox, D., Farrall, S. and Godfrey, B., 2007. Persistent offenders in the north west of England, 1880 - 1940: Some critical research questions. *Crimes and misdemeanours*, 1 (1), pp.69 - 89.
- Cox, P. 2013. *Bad girls in Britain: Gender, justice and welfare 1900 – 1950*. 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Critcher, C. 2011. Double Measures: The Moral Regulation of Alcohol Consumption, Past and in Bramham P. and Wagg, S. (eds) *The New Politics of Leisure and Pleasure*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Critcher, C. 2011. Drunken antics: The gin craze, binge drinking, and the political economy of moral regulation. In Hier, S.P. (ed) *Moral panic and the politics of anxiety*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Critcher, C., 2009. Widening the focus: moral panics as moral regulation. *British Journal of Criminology*, 49, pp.17 - 34.
- Critcher, C., 2003. *Moral panics and the media*. [e-book] Buckingham: Buckingham : Open University Press. Available through: Primo.
- Davidoff, L., and Hall, C., 2007. *Family fortunes*. [e-book] Rev. ed. London : Routledge. Available through: Primo.
- Davies, A., 1999. "These viragoes are no less cruel than the lads" Young women, gangs and violence in late Victorian Manchester and Salford. *British Journal of Criminology*, 39 (1), pp.72 - 89.
- Day, K., Gough, B. and McFadden, M., 2004. 'Warning! Alcohol can seriously damage your feminine health' A discourse analysis of recent British newspaper coverage of women and drinking. *Feminist media studies*, 4 (2), pp.165 - 184.
- D'Cruze, S., 1998. *Sex crimes of outrage: Sex, violence and Victorian working women*. London: UCL press.

- De Visser, R.O. and McDonnell, E.J., 2012. 'That's OK. He's a guy': A mixed-methods study of gender double-standards for alcohol use. *Psychology & Health*, [e-journal] 27 (5), pp.618-639. Available through: Primo,.
- De Visser, R.O., Smith, J., Abraham, C. And Wheeler, Z. 2012. *Gender alcohol and interventions*. Report for Alcohol Research UK. Available through: http://alcoholresearchuk.org/downloads/finalReports/FinalReport_0092.pdf
- Dean, M., 1994. "A social structure of many souls": moral regulation, government and self-formation. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, [e-journal] 19 (3), pp.145-168. Available through: Primo,.
- Department of Health, 2016. *UK Chief Medical Officers' Alcohol Guidelines Review Summary of the proposed new guidelines*. Crown copyright 2015 2904568
- Devon and Cornwall police, 2014. *Don't turn a night out into a nightmare*.
- Diageo, 2007/08. *A night to remember? Or one to forget? Lost shoe*. : 'The choice is yours'.
- Diageo, 2007/08. *A night to remember? Or one to forget? Mirror* : 'The choice is yours'.
- Dingle, A.E., 1972. Drink and working-class living standards in Britain, 1870 - 1914. *The economic history review*, 25 (4), pp.608 - 622.
- Doherty, L. 2013. *Stripper-chic nights: The visibility of women, femininity and the feminisation of drinking practices in the Night Time Economy* London, 16.01.13.
- Douglas, M. 1966. *Purity and danger. An analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo*. London: Routledge.
- Drinkaware, 2011. *Catching up. Left behind*. : Why let good times go bad? Series.
- Drinkaware, 2011. *Dance floor. Toilet floor*. : Why let good times go bad? Series.
- Drinkaware, 2011. *Laughing with you. Laughing at you*. : Why let good times go bad? Series.
- Drinkaware, 2011. *A night you'll never forget. A night you can't remember*. : Why let good times go bad? Series.
- Drinkaware, 2010. *#1 The Crier* : Play your night right.
- Drinkaware, 2010. *#3 The Puker* : Play your night right.
- Drinkaware Trust, 2015. *Annual report and financial statements*. Available through: https://www.drinkaware.co.uk/media/1617/drinkaware2015statutory-accounts_signed.pdf

- Durkheim, E. 2013. Introduction to ethics in Pickering, W.S.F., *Durkheim: Essays on Morals and Education*, Cambridge: James Clarke & Co.
- Embree, B.G. and Whitehead, P.C. 1993. Validity and reliability of self-reported drinking behavior: dealing with the problem of response bias. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol* 54:3, 334-344
- Ettorre, E., 1997. *Women & alcohol : a private pleasure or a public problem?* London: The Women's Press.
- Fletcher, H.B., 2007. *Gender and the American temperance movement of the nineteenth century*. [e-book] Routledge. Available through: google.
- Gefou- Madianou, D., 1992. *Alcohol, gender and culture*. London: Routledge.
- Gerritsen, J.W., 2000. *'The control of fuddle and flash' : A sociological history of the regulation of alcohol and opiates*. Leiden: Brill.
- Glasbeek, A. ed., 2006. *Moral regulation and governance in Canada*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press inc.
- Goddard, E., 2001. *Obtaining information about drinking through surveys of the general population*. Office for National Statistics.
- Graham, K., Wilsnack, R., Dawson, D. and Vogeltanz, N., 1998. Should alcohol consumption measures be adjusted for gender differences? *Addiction*, [e-journal] 93 (8), pp.1137-1147. Available through: google,.
- Griffin, C., 2009. 'Every time I do it I absolutely annihilate myself': Loss of (self-) consciousness and loss of memory in young people's drinking narratives. *Sociology*, 43 (3), pp.457 - 476.
- Griffin, C., Szmigin, I., Bengry-Howell, A., Hackley, C. and Mistral, W., 2013. Inhabiting the contradictions: Hypersexual femininity and the culture of intoxication among young women in the UK. *Feminism & Psychology*, [e-journal] 23 (2), pp.184-206. Available through: Primo,.
- Gutzke, D.W., 2014. *Women drinking out in Britain since the early twentieth century*. 1st ed. Manchester1: Manchester University Press.
- Hall, S.C., 1850. *It's never too late* : Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance. (24).
- Hall, S.C., 1846. *Bridget Larkins* : Ipswich Temperance Tracts. (89).
- Harrison, B., 1994. *Drink and the Victorians*. 2nd ed. Keele: Keele University Press.
- Hollands, R.G., 1995. *Friday night, Saturday night: Youth cultural identification in the post industrial city*. Newcastle upon Tyne: University of Newcastle.

- Holloway, S.L., Jayne, M. and Valentine, G., 2008. 'Sainsbury's is my local': English alcohol policy, domestic drinking practices and the meaning of home. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, [e-journal] 33 (4), pp.532-547. Available through: Primo,.
- Holloway, S.L., Valentine, G. and Jayne, M., 2009. Masculinities, femininities and the geographies of public and private drinking landscapes. *Geoforum*, [e-journal] 40 (5), pp.821-831. Available through: Primo,.
- Holmila, M. and Raitasalo, K., 2005. Gender differences in drinking: why do they still exist? *Addiction*, [e-journal] 100 (12), pp.1763-1769. Available through: Primo,.
- HSCIC - Lifestyle statistics: Health and social care information centre, 2014. *Statistics on Alcohol: England 2014*. Health and Social Care Information Centre.
- Hunt, A., 1999. *Governing morals : a social history of moral regulation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hunt, A., 1999. The purity wars: Making sense of moral militancy. *Theoretical Criminology*, 3 (4), pp.409-436.
- Institute for Alcohol Studies, 2013. *Changing trends in women's drinking*.
- Jayne, M., Holloway, S. and Valentine, G., 2006. Drunk and disorderly: Alcohol, urban life and public space. *Progress in Human Geography*, 30 (4), pp.451-468.
- Jayne, M., Valentine, G. and Holloway, S.L., 2011. *Alcohol, Drinking, Drunkenness: (Dis)orderly spaces*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing ltd.
- Keller, R., 2013. *Doing discourse research: An introduction for social scientists*. London: SAGE.
- Kneale, J., 2001. The place of drink: temperance and the public, 1856 - 1914. *Social and cultural geography*, 2 (1), pp.43 - 59.
- Kukla, A., 2000. *Social constructivism and the philosophy of science*. Routledge.
- Larsen, T., 2004. *Contested Christianity : the political and social context of Victorian theology*. [e-book] Waco, Tex.: Waco, Tex. : Baylor University Press. Available through: Primo.
- Leyshon, M., 2008. 'We're stuck in the corner': Young women, embodiment and drinking in the countryside. *Drugs: Education, prevention and policy*, 15 (3), pp.267-289.
- Livesey, J., 1838. Report. *The moral reformer*, 8.
- Longmate, N., 1968. *The waterdrinkers: a history of temperance*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

- Mackiewicz, A., 2015. Alcohol, young women's culture and gender hierarchies. Staddon, P., ed. 2015. *Women and alcohol: Social perspectives*. Bristol:Policy Press. Chapter: 4, pp.65-84.
- Mackiewicz, A., 2012. *'New' femininities in the culture of intoxication: Exploring young women's participation in the night-time economy, in the context of sexualised culture, neo-liberalism and postfeminism*. PhD. University of Bath.
- Mahoney, J. and Rueschemeyer, D. eds., 2003. *Comparative historical analysis in the social sciences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martin, S.C., 2003. *Devil of the domestic sphere: Temperance, gender and middle class ideology 1800 - 1860*. Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press.
- Mason, N., 2001. THE SOVEREIGN PEOPLE ARE IN A BEASTLY STATE: THE BEER ACT OF 1830 AND VICTORIAN DISCOURSE ON WORKING-CLASS DRUNKENNESS. *Victorian Literature and Culture; Victorian Lit.Culture*, [e-journal] 29 (1), pp.109-127. Available through: Primo,.
- Mayhew, H. & Douglas-Fairhurst, Robert, 2010. London labour and the London poor. Selected ed. / edited by Robert Douglas-Fairhurst..., Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McClintock, R.J.D.D. and Strong, J., 1894. *Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature*. New York: Harper.
- McDonald, M., 1994. *Gender, drink and drugs*. [e-book] Oxford: Oxford Berg. Available through: Primo.
- McErlain, R., 2015. Alcohol and moral regulation in historical context. Staddon, P., ed. 2015. *Women and Alcohol: Social Perspectives*. 1st ed. Bristol: Policy Press. Chapter: 2, pp.31-44.
- McRobbie, A. 2007. Post-feminism and popular culture: Bridget Jones and the new gender regime. In: Tasker, Y. and Negra, D. (Eds) *Interrogating Postfeminism: Gender and the politics of popular culture*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- McRobbie, A. 2009. *The aftermath of feminism: Gender, culture and social change*. London: SAGE.
- McWilliam, R. and Boyd, K., 2007. *The Victorian studies reader*. [e-book] London: London : Routledge. Available through: Primo.
- Measham, F. and Brain, K., 2005. 'Binge'drinking, British alcohol policy and the new culture of intoxication. *Crime, media, culture*, [e-journal] 1 (3), pp.262-283. Available through: google,.
- Measham, F. and Moore, K., 2009. Repertoires of distinction: Exploring patterns of weekend polydrug use within local leisure scenes accross the English night time economy. *Criminology and Criminal justice*, 9 (4), pp.437 - 464.

- Measham, F., Østergaard, J. and Moore, K., 2011. *Emerging drug trends in Lancashire: Night Time Economy surveys phase 1*. Lancaster: University of Lancaster.
- Measham, F. and Østergaard, J., 2009. The public face of binge drinking: British and Danish young women, recent trends in alcohol consumption and the European binge drinking debate. *Probation Journal*, [e-journal] 56 (4), pp.415-434. Available through: Primo,.
- Melnyk, J., 2008. *Victorian religion : faith and life in Britain*. [e-book] Westport, Conn. : Oxford: Westport, Conn. : Praeger ; Oxford : Harcourt Education distributor. Available through: Primo.
- Mills, J. and Birks, M. eds., 2014. *Qualitative methodology: A practical guide*. London:SAGE.
- Mills, S., 2004. *Discourse*. 2nd ed. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Moon, L. and Staddon, P., 2015. 'A drink in my hand: Why 'putting down the glass' may be too simple a solution for lesbian women. In Staddon, P., ed. 2015. *Women and Alcohol: Social Perspectives*. 1st ed. Bristol:Policy Press. Pp. 139 – 159.
- Moss, S., 2009. "A grave question": The children act and public house regulation, c. 1908 - 1939. *Crimes and misdemeanours*, 3 (2), pp.98 - 117.
- NHS and Home Office, 2006. *Rape victims statistic : 'Know your limits'*.
- NHS and Home Office, 2006. *Would you let a complete stranger walk you home? : 'Know your limits'*.
- NHS Birmingham, 2010. *When you drink too much another takes over : 'Who is in control?'*.
- NHS Birmingham, 2010. *When you drink too much another you takes over - unwanted sex : 'Who is in control?'*.
- Nicholls, J., 2009. *The politics of alcohol: A history of the drink question in England*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- none, 1834 (559). *Select Committee on Inquiry into Drunkenness among Labouring Classes of United Kingdom Report, Minutes of evidence, appendix*.
- Petersen, A., 1998. Sexing the body: representations of sex differences in Gray's Anatomy, 1858 to the present. *Body & Society*, [e-journal] 4 (1), pp.1-15. Available through: google,.
- Plant, M.A., 1997. *Alcohol: minimising the harm: what works?* [e-book] London: Free Association Books. Available through: Primo.

- Pooley, C. and D'Cruze, S., 1994. Migration and urbanization in northwest England circa 1760–1830. *Social History*, [e-journal] 19 (3), pp.339-358. Available through: Primo,.
- Porter, R and Hall, L, 1995. *The facts of life: the creation of sexual knowledge in Britain 1650-1950*, New Haven: Yale.
- Prosser, J., 2013. Visual methodology: Toward a more seeing research. Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln, Yvonna A., ed. 2013. *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*. SAGE. Chapter: 6.
- RAHAV, G., WILSNACK, R., BLOOMFIELD, K. and GMEL, G and Kuntsche, S., 2006. THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIETAL LEVEL FACTORS ON MEN'S AND WOMEN'S ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION AND ALCOHOL PROBLEMS. *Alcohol & Alcoholism*, 41 (1), pp.47-55.
- Reid, D., 1976. The decline of st Monday 1766 - 1876. *Past and Present*, 71 (1), pp.76 - 101.
- Rose, G., 2012. *Visual methodologies: An introduction to researching with visual materials*. London: Sage.
- Rose, N. 1999. *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rudolfsdottir, A.G. and Morgan, P., 2009. 'Alcohol is my friend': Young middle class women discuss their relationship with alcohol. *Journal of community and applied social psychology*, 19, pp.492 - 505.
- Ruonavaara, H., 1997. Moral Regulation: A Reformulation. *Sociological Theory*, [e-journal] 15 (3), pp.277-293. Available through: Primo,.
- Sheard, L., 2011. 'Anything could have happened': women, the night-time economy, alcohol and drink spiking.(Author abstract). *Sociology*, [e-journal] 45 (2), pp.619-633. Available through: Primo,.
- Shiman, L.L., 1988. *Crusade against drink in Victorian England*. MacMillan.
- Shore, Heather (with Cox, Pamela) (2002) 'Re-inventing the Juvenile Delinquent in Britain and Europe, 1650-1950', in Cox and Shore eds 'Becoming Delinquent: British and European Youth 1650-1950, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1-22.
- Skopcol, T. ed., 1984. *Vision and method in historical sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, M.A., 1983. Social Usages of the Public Drinking House: Changing Aspects of Class and Leisure. *The British journal of sociology*, [e-journal] 34 (3), pp.367-385. Available through: Primo,.

- Staddon, P. ed., 2015. *Women and Alcohol: Social Perspectives*. 1st ed. Bristol:Policy Press.
- Staddon, P., ed. 2006. *PROCEEDINGS OF THE PLYMOUTH BUSINESS SCHOOL AND SCHOOL OF SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS AND LAW POSTGRADUATE SYMPOSIUM* University of Plymouth, .
- Stowell, H.(.), 1846. *Is I not happy? An interesting account of a very poor old woman* : Ipswich Temperance Tracts. (32). 4
- Swanson, G. 2006. *Drunk with the Glitter: Space, Consumption and Sexual Instability in Modern Urban Culture*. London: Routledge
- Tasker, Y. and Negra, D. (Eds) *Interrogating Postfeminism: Gender and the politics of popular culture*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- The National Temperance Publication Depot, 1887. *A complete catalogue of temperance literature*. London: National Temperance Publication Depot.
- Thom, B., 1999. *Dealing with drink: Alcohol and social policy from treatment to management*. London: Free Association Books.
- Thompson, E.P., 1967. *The Making of the English Working Class*. Penguin.
- Thompson, F.M.L., 1988. *The rise of respectable society: A social history of Victorian Britain 1830 - 1900*. London: Fontana press.
- Thrasher, F.M. 1927. *The Gang*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Tilly, L. and Wallach-Scott, J., 1987. *Women, work and family*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
- Valverde, M., 1991. *The age of light, soap, and water : moral reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.
- Valverde, M., 1998. *Diseases of the will: alcohol and the dilemmas of freedom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Valverde, M. and Weir, L., 2006. The struggles of the immoral: Preliminary remarks on moral regulation. Glasbeek, A., ed. 2006. *Moral Regulation and Governance in Canada: History, Context and Critical Issues*. 1st ed. Ontario:Canadian Scholars' press inc. Chapter: 4, pp.75-84.
- Vickery, A. 1993. Golden age to separate spheres? A review of the categories and chronology of English women's history. *The Historical Journal*, 36, (2), pp. 383—414
- Wallace, A., 1850. *The first meeting and the last*: Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance. (48).

- Warner, J., 2003. *Craze: Gin and debauchery in an age of reason*. London: Profile Books Ltd.
- Warner, J., 1997. The sanctuary of sobriety: the emergence of temperance as a feminine virtue in Tudor and Stuart England. *Addiction*, 92 (1), pp.97-111.
- Waterson, J., 2000. *Women and alcohol in social context : mother's ruin revisited*. Houndmills: Palgrave.
- West Mercia Police, 2012. *Don't let a night full of promise turn into a morning full of regret*.
- Wilsnack, R.W. and Wilsnack, S.C., 2013. Gender and Alcohol: Consumption and consequences. Boyle, P., Boffetta, P., Lowenfels, A. and Brawley, O., eds. 2013. *Alcohol: Science, Policy and Public Health*. 1st ed. Oxford University Press. , pp.153-160.
- Wilson, L., 1999. "Constrained by Zeal": Women in Mid-Nineteenth Century Nonconformist Churches. . *Journal of Religious History*, 23, pp.185-202.
- Winskill, P.T., 1891. *The Temperance movement and its workers: A record of social, moral, religious and political progress*. London: Blackie and Son Ltd.
- Yeomans, H. 2014. *Alcohol and Moral Regulation Public Attitudes, Spirited Measures and Victorian Hangovers*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Yeomans, H., 2013a. Blurred visions: experts, evidence and the promotion of moderate drinking. *The Sociological Review*, 61 (S2), pp.58-78.
- Yeomans, H., 2013. Theorising alcohol in public discourse: Moral panics or moral regulation? Petley, J., ed. 2013. *Moral panics in the contemporary world*. 1st ed. London: Bloomsbury. Chapter: 5, pp.101.
- Young, R.A. and Collin, A., 2004. Introduction: Constructivism and social constructionism in the career field. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 64 (3), pp.373-388.
- Zedner, L. 1994. *Women, crime and custody in Victorian England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Appendix 1 – Narrative analysis synthesis table

Date	Series Title	Source Title	Main Objects	Value Structures	Typical narratives in the episode
c.1850	Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance	Strong drink in the house, No. 39	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alcohol • Death • Asylums 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tragedy • Misunderstanding the risks of alcohol • Risks to family, friends and acquaintances of drink 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Four tragic deaths are linked to Mr Peter's keeping and serving alcohol in the home • Failure to protect his wife becoming addicted to drink and her madness, subsequent sectioning.
c. 1850	Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance	Saturday night, No. 79	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family • Public house • Shoes • Shawl 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Failure of masculinity through being a bad husband and father • Loss of respectability • Lack of resolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drink is too great a temptation for man • Women (wives and daughters) are victims of male drinking
c. 1850	Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance	The Story of a Wife's Endurance, No. 32	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The minister • Temperance meeting • Violence • Pledging 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feminine virtue will prevail • It is the duty of the middle classes to lead by example • Link between masculinity, alcohol and violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women in an active role, choosing abstinence for themselves, and advocating it strongly to the men in the story. • Temperance organisations are the realm of men

Date	Series Title	Source Title	Main Objects	Value Structures	Typical narratives in the episode
c. 1850	Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance	It's never too late by Mrs. S.C. Hall, No. 24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty • Illness of the male drinker and his family • Charitable women • Material goods 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being a drunk always leads to poverty • Drinking results in a failure to perform ideal masculine roles for men • Charity is a feminine virtue • Sobriety is a cause of good health 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty and drunkenness are causally linked • Middle class women are inherently charitable and will always forfeit their time or money for the benefit of worthy others • Woman as the victim of male drunkenness • Redemption of respectability through abstinence
c. 1850	Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance	Prize tracts, No. XL. – The Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors, no. 11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The publicans wife • Bad characters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Virtue • Reputation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women should not be in pubs (as staff or patrons) to protect them from the influence of bad characters in pubs

Date	Series Title	Source Title	Main Objects	Value Structures	Typical narratives in the episode
c. 1850	Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance	Prize Tracts, No X. – A word to females, no.10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The respectable female • Family • The unfortunate, fallen woman 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Middle class respectability • Women's role in society to set a good example to others • The ideal role for women is in charity work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assumption of respectable women feeling sympathy for women who drink, and the wives of men who drink • Female role of caregiver is the imperative to set an example to others • Being charitable is a presumed trait and activity for respectable women.
c. 1846	Ipswich Temperance Tracts	Address to females, No. 131	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The female drinker • Temperance society • God • Home • Family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Moderation is a feminine trait • Childcare is the priority of women • Women's role to set a good example through abstinence • Subsistence to God 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women assumed to be inherently moderate drinkers • Primary female roles are that of wife and mother • Women should abstain to set a good example to drinkers • Women are the victims of male drinking

Date	Series Title	Source Title	Main Objects	Value Structures	Typical narratives in the episode
c. 1850	Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance	Sally Lyon's first and last visit to the alehouse, No. 11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty • Glass of drink • Home • Debt • Lost furniture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feminine fortitude, suffering in silence • Non-confrontational challenge to the male drinker • Drinking causes poverty • Women are the chief victim of male drinking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The cycle of drinking and debt causes moderate drinking to develop into constant drunkenness • The correct way for a woman to challenge her husband's drinking is through quiet rebuke • Feminine virtue of suffering in silence
c. 1850	Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance	Charles Simpson, No. 43	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The public house • The tobacconist • Pledge signing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reward of living by example • Female virtue of abstinence to set a good example • Suspicion of teetotal principles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor women demonstrate their respectability through the virtue of setting an example to others through their behaviour • Causal relationship between drinking, poverty and illness • Redemption to financial stability through abstinence

Date	Series Title	Source Title	Main Objects	Value Structures	Typical narratives in the episode
c. 1846	Ipswich Temperance Tracts	The Manchester go-a-heads, No. 148	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Home • Clothes • Furniture • The pledge paper 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Redemption of love and faith through temperance • Unspoken levels of ruin • Gaining respectability • Benefit of visiting drinking women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women can be redeemed from ruin through pledging to be abstinent • Feminine virtue of visiting fallen drinking women • Abstinence causes an increase in wealth • Women who drink are usually led there by a drinking husband
c.1846	Ipswich Temperance Tracts	A Manchester Home, By a Baptist Minister, No. 189	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Home • Poverty • Old, damaged possessions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Depravity of the female drinker • Shock at the violent drinking woman • Feminine failure shown through lack of care for the family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Home’ is a place to be valued and protected • Drink destroys homes • Female drinkers are depraved • Causal link between drink, violence, poverty and death.

Date	Series Title	Source Title	Main Objects	Value Structures	Typical narratives in the episode
c. 1850	Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance	Scenes around us, No. 60	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Streets • Public house • Beer shop • Torn, dirty clothes on a female drinker 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The victims of drink are men who drink, their wives and children • The failed femininity of a female drinker is apparent through her appearance • Link of drinking with dirt, poverty, insanity and death 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drinking is the cause of disorder on the streets • Respectable women should make themselves aware of the prevalence and dangers of drinking • Challenging the morality of the moderate drinking of respectable women
c. 1850	Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance	The first meeting and the last, By the Rev. Alex Wallace, Glasgow, No. 48	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bottle • The city • The hill 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blame for the man's drinking is laid with his father, and with his wife • Inevitability of the death of the drinker • Recognition of the addiction to drink 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The woman is blamed for marrying a man who was a drinker • Women should not expect to be able to reform a male drinker • Inevitability of suffering and death as a consequence of the drinking husband, and the mistaken beliefs of his wife.

Date	Series Title	Source Title	Main Objects	Value Structures	Typical narratives in the episode
c. 1850	Scottish Temperance League Tracts on Temperance	My wife won't sign, by A Wife, No. 52	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wives • The glass 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Obedience of the wife • Moral obligations of females • Effeminacy of men who have drinking wives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Female duty to be the moral arbiter of family and society • Men cannot be expected to be abstinent without the support of an abstinent wife • Female moral obligations
c. 1846	Ipswich Temperance Tracts	Bridget Larkins, by Mrs. S. C. Hall, No. 89	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fish and harbour • Market • Prison • Shop • Whiskey 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bravery • Respectability • Loss of femininity • Regret at loss of respect 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Female respectability can maintain the regard for the drinking woman for some time, but not forever • Drinking causes a total loss of wealth and respectability • Redemption is presented through regaining business and respectability

Date	Series Title	Source Title	Main Objects	Value Structures	Typical narratives in the episode
c. 1846	Ipswich Temperance Tracts	The young woman's tract, No. 55	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The female body, a vulnerable object • Home 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respectable females assumed to be moderate, controlled drinkers • Feminine virtue of the impetus to care for others is the reason why women should abstain, for the sake of others • Moral regulation of men, family and society is the task of women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assumption of the feminine virtues held by the reader - Compassion - Forsaking pleasure for the sake of others - Fragile health is the normal condition of women • Moral regulation is a feminine task
c. 1846	Ipswich Temperance Tracts	The Victim of Excitement, No. 78	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wealth • Home • Children • Blood 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demise of attractiveness of the drinking woman • Maternal failure the ultimate feminine transgression • Masculine pride and lack of compassion are flaws in the male character 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideal femininity constructed as restrained, compassionate, quiet and retiring • Females who are bright, vivacious, intelligent and sociable are predisposed to transgression • Men can increase the likelihood of female drinking through a lack of compassion, and excessive pride. • The unnatural woman

Date	Series Title	Source Title	Main Objects	Value Structures	Typical narratives in the episode
c. 1846	Ipswich Temperance Tracts	The craving of a drunkard, Illustrated: In an extract of a letter from a friend. No. 108	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drink • Glass or cup • Street • Clothing • God 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Duty to abstain and to not serve others • The permanent risk of medicinal drink to the reformed drunkard • Loss of respectability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An entreaty to cease moderate drinking, by pointing to the risks to others, • The inability of the reformed drinker to drink at all.
c. 1846	Ipswich Temperance Tracts	A scene from life, No. 154	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unkempt building • Small, dirty room • Torn, dirty clothes • Women • Men • Children • Gin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of feminine delicacy • Deprivation and dirt • Degredation • Christian Sympathy • Disgust • Shame 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The gentleman witnesses the dirt, deprivation of a family due to drinking • Especially evident in the torn clothes, dirtiness and lack of feminine delicacy in the 19 year old daughter.
c. 1846	Ipswich Temperance Tracts	The reformed shoemaker, or: "I will if you will" No. 171	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • House • Church • School • Furniture • Pledge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sadness • Charity • Redemption • Prosperity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The shoemaker causes sadness in his family through drinking • Charitable female Sunday school teachers visiting are inherently selfless • Redemption, prosperity follow taking the pledge.

Date	Series Title	Source Title	Main Objects	Value Structures	Typical narratives in the episode
c. 1846	Ipswich Temperance Tracts	The Fool's Pence, No. 22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Crowder wife and daughters • Manly family • Luxurious gin palaces • Home 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Awakening to sin • Avarice, lack of charity with femininity • Pious, restrained femininity the ideal • cleanliness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The publican family prosper but are uncharitable to the poor • Awakening to the prosperity of the publican causes redemption
c. 1846	Ipswich Temperance Tracts	Is I not happy? An interesting account of a very poor old woman, By the Rev. Hugh Stowell, A.M. No. 32	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Old woman • Pavement • Cellar • Temperance meetings • Church 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Violence and abuse of the drinking mother • Temperance ladies are charitable • Redemption maintained through total abstinence • Decency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drinking causes violence, and makes a bad mother • Persistent charitable women save the old woman • Abstinence brings decency in home, clothes and esteem of personal status
c. 1846	Ipswich Temperance Tracts	The Drunken Couple, No. 34	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Irredeemable drunk women • Doctors • Public house • Street • Bible • Ministers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Female sensitivity and weakness • Neglect of child • Visits and encouragement • Thankfulness to God 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women are naturally more sensitive to the impact of drink, thus are less likely to reform • In one case, it is the persistence of teetotal members who make the couple reform

Date	Series Title	Source Title	Main Objects	Value Structures	Typical narratives in the episode
c. 1846	Ipswich Temperance Tracts	Take a Public House, No. 43	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wife • Public house • Customers • Brothel • Brandy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mockery of female intoxication • Characterless 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Running a public house bar leads a wife to become a low prostitute in a poor brothel. • She is rendered characterless • Husband dies of a broken heart
c. 1846	Ipswich Temperance Tracts	Ladies' Tract Societies: With hints for their formation, No. 62	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tracts • Pledging • Secretary • Society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Female kindness • Perseverance • Organisation • Visiting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forming a tract society to support female visitors to drunkards • Active in the community but in a domestic sphere.

Date	Series Title	Source Title	Main Objects	Value Structures	Typical narratives in the episode
2009	Bottletop – Safer Herefordshire partnership	You wouldn't start a night like this, so why end it that way? Poster 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Woman • Bottle • Rubbish bag • Exterior wall • Pavement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of physical capacity • Loss of feminine poise 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sitting on the pavement • Feet askew symbolises incapacity • Disordered hair shows disordered femininity
2011	Drinkaware – Why let good times go bad? Series	A night you'll never forget – A night you can't remember	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Posing for a photo • Wine glass outline 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friendship • Value of memories • Loss of memory is a loss of fun 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intoxication causes a loss of memory • Loss of memory is a loss of fun
2011	Drinkaware – Why let good times go bad? Series	Catching up – Left behind	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dining table • Make up and hair products • Clock • Wine • Glasses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friendship • Sociability • Loss of control • Loss of shared fun social experience 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sharing wine during time together is a positive activity • Becoming drunk causes the drinker to miss out on fun experiences with friends
2011	Drinkaware – Why let good times go bad? Series	Dance floor – Toilet floor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Woman • Mobile phone • Dancing • Toilet • Litter 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fun is associated with staying in control • Losing control is associated with dirt, sickness and loss of femininity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The outcome of drinking is the choice of the drinker • Becoming drunk causes a loss of feminine poise • Transgressive femininity is shown through dirt, sickness, disarranged hair and clothes

Date	Series Title	Source Title	Main Objects	Value Structures	Typical narratives in the episode
2011	Drinkaware – Why let good times go bad? Series	Laughing with you – Laughing at you	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends • Bar • The ‘Gaze’ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attractive femininity • Positive personal behaviour when staying in control • Losing control and loss of desirability/respectability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comparing outcomes of controlled drinking and intoxication • The consequences of controlled drinking is desirable, respectable, attractive femininity • The consequences of intoxication are loss of femininity, poise and desirability • The male gaze
2014	Devon and Cornwall Police	Don’t turn a night out into a nightmare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cocktails • Pavement • Car • Dishevelled hair and clothes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Posing • Male gaze • Loss of physical capacity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Becoming drunk causes a loss of poise • The male gaze over the intoxicated female
2011	Bottletop – Safer Herefordshire partnership	How will your night end? A trip to hospital?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bar • Wine • Friends • Bathroom • Mobile phone • Hospital 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friendship • Loss of consciousness • Distress 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Outcome of drinking is the decision of the drinker • Becoming drunk can bring distress to friends • Loss of consciousness and hospitalisation is the outcome of not staying in control

Date	Series Title	Source Title	Main Objects	Value Structures	Typical narratives in the episode
2012	West Mercia Police	Don't let a night full of promise turn into a morning full of regret	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Woman • Dancefloor • Floor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of consciousness • Risk of rape • Vulnerability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Becoming drunk increases the risk of rape • Women should drink moderately or they increase the risk of being raped
2010	NHS Birmingham – who is in control campaign	When you drink too much another takes over	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pub • Friends • Bus • Urinating 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Embarrassment • Shame 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Becoming drunk caused the woman to behave in ways which cause her shame when sober • The choice of the drinker to lose control causes public, visible embarrassment
2009	Bottletop – Safer Herefordshire partnership	You wouldn't start a night like this, so why end it that way? Poster 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Woman • Pavement • Bottle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of feminine poise • Loss of control 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intoxication causes a loss of control of the body • The uncontrolled body is transgressing femininity • Public, visible loss of control is shameful

Date	Series Title	Source Title	Main Objects	Value Structures	Typical narratives in the episode
2007/08	Diageo – ‘The choice is yours’ campaign	A night to remember? Or one to forget? Mirror	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women • Makeup • handbag 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Female gaze • Loss of feminine attractiveness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Becoming drunk causes a loss of feminine attractiveness, through dishevelled hair and makeup. • Loss of poise • This behaviour is shameful, judged by others.
2010	Drinkaware – Play your night right series	#3 The Puker	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Woman • Sick bag • Dishevelled hair 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of attractiveness • Shame 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consequence of getting drunk is sickness • Sickness causes a loss of feminine attractiveness • Causal relationship between drunkenness, sickness and shame
2010	Drinkaware – Play your night right series	#1 The Crier	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Woman • Wine • Toilet • Mobile phone • Food 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alcohol causes women to become irrationally emotional 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The feminine consequence of intoxication is irrational emotional behaviour • The choices of the drinker are to blame for embarrassment.

Date	Series Title	Source Title	Main Objects	Value Structures	Typical narratives in the episode
2006	NHS and Home Office 'Know your limits' campaign	Rape victims statistic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Woman • Alcohol • Rape 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Risk of sexual harm is the consequence of getting drunk for women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The drunkenness of the woman is a causal factor of being raped. • It is the choice of the woman to become drunk, knowing the risk
2013	Calderdale Council - Festive season campaign	Night of the reckless drunk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Woman • Dress • shoe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of control • Loss of feminine poise • Cause of risk is choosing to become drunk 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drunkenness causes increased risk of unidentified harms • Loss of feminine poise
2006	NHS and Home Office 'Know your limits' campaign	Would you let a complete stranger walk you home?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wall • Shadows 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fear of unknown males • Assumed male predatory behaviour • Assumed impaired judgement of the drinking woman 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Threat of masculinity • Vulnerability of women who are drunk • Drinking is a causal factor in the risk of rape
2010	NHS Birmingham – who is in control campaign	When you drink too much another you takes over – unwanted sex	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nightclub • Stranger's car • Unidentified male • Woman 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Making risky choices • Incapacity to stop unwanted sex 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being drunk leads to making risky decisions • Assumption of predatory masculinity • Causal link between drink and unwanted sex

Date	Series Title	Source Title	Main Objects	Value Structures	Typical narratives in the episode
2007/08	Diageo – ‘The choice is yours’ campaign	A night to remember? Or one to forget? Lost shoe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Street • Women • Shoe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of control • Loss of feminine poise • Shame 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Controlled drinking causes the women to have fun and maintain feminine poise during the walk home • Intoxication causes a loss of physical control, a loss of feminine poise. • Being the drunk friend is shameful
2009	Bottletop – Safer Herefordshire partnership	You wouldn’t start a night like this, so why end it that way? Poster 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Woman • Kerb 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of control • Loss of feminine poise 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drunkenness causes a loss of control • The loss of control presents a loss of feminine poise • The public visibility of the loss of feminine poise is shaming
2011	Bottletop – Safer Herefordshire partnership	How will your night end? Too drunk to remember?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends • Table • Drinks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of feminine poise • Loss of fun • Public sexual behaviour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shame • Loss of fun • Loss of feminine poise

Appendix 2 – 21st century visual sources

Drinkaware – Why let good times go bad? Series: Catching up – Left behind



Drinkaware – Why let good times go bad? Series: Dance floor: Toilet floor



Drinkaware – Why let good times go bad? Series: Laughing with you – Laughing at you



Devon and Cornwall Police: Don't turn a night out into a nightmare



Bottletop – Safer Herefordshire partnership - How will your night end? A trip to hospital?



**HOW WILL
YOUR
NIGHT END?**

**A TRIP TO
HOSPITAL?**

www.bottletop.info
www.herefordshire.gov.uk/saferherefordshire

**Safer
Herefordshire**

The poster features three photographs: a woman at a pub table, a woman in a bathroom, and a woman lying on the floor. A red circular logo with the word 'BOTTLETOP' is in the bottom left corner.

NHS Birmingham – Who is in control campaign: When you drink too much another takes over



Who passed
out in the pub
was taken home
by her mates
and wet herself
on the bus?

When you drink too much another you takes over
whoisincontrol.co.uk

The poster shows two identical women standing side-by-side, wearing black dresses. The text is in a white sans-serif font on a grey background.

Bottletop – Safer Herefordshire partnership - You wouldn't start a night like this, so why end it that way? Poster 2



Drinkaware – Play your night right series: #1 The Crier



NHS and Home Office 'Know your limits' campaign



NHS and Home Office 'Know your limits' campaign



NHS Birmingham – Who is in control campaign: When you drink too much another takes over



Bottletop – Safer Herefordshire partnership - You wouldn't start a night like this, so why end it that way? Poster 3



Bottletop – Safer Herefordshire partnership - How will your night end? Too drunk to remember?



**HOW WILL YOUR
NIGHT END?**

TOO DRUNK TO REMEMBER?

 www.bottletop.info
www.herefordshire.gov.uk/saferherefordshire

**Safer
Herefordshire**